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THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF CLEVELAND'S
MISS MITTLEBERGER SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, 1875-1908

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN URBAN EDUCATION

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CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY

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Psychology

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated

To my parents, William and Regina Morrison and the long line of
Irish family from which I come;

To my children and my grandchildren;

To my “Veronicas” Christine, Marnie, Betsy, Carrie Dale, and Marlene;

And to the Crones for all their friendship

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank especially Dr. James C. Carl for serving as both chair and methodologist; and Dr. David Adams, Dr. Rosemary Sutton, Dr. Connie Hollinger, and Dr. Dwayne Wright for serving on my dissertation committee, all of whom served me so well as doctoral program teachers.

I would also like to thank the librarians at the Western Historical Society in Cleveland, the Kelvin Smith Library at Case Western Reserve University, the Cleveland Public Library, especially the Archives Department, and the Cleveland State University Archives/Special Collections Department.

For the years spent with Cohort XIV, know that I enjoyed every minute of it.

**THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF CLEVELAND'S
MISS MITTLEBERGER SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, 1875-1908**

SHARON MORRISON PINZONE

ABSTRACT

Augusta Mittleberger (1845-1915) was a prominent educator and owner/director of the Miss Mittleberger School for Girls (1875-1908) in Cleveland in the American Victorian period, defined here as 1876-1915. Using the journalism of Mittleberger's students, this dissertation provides a social and educational profile of upper middle and upper class girls within Cleveland's Victorian sociocultural context, with the eye to understanding the impact of Mittleberger's entrepreneurship, the lives of Victorian girls, the opportunities for women, and the school's urban context.

This study looked for evidence of whether these girls, kindergarten-college preparatory, were aware of their social position, whether they exercised its privilege and proclivities as described by the tenets of studies on American class, and how their school experiences impacted their futures as women in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. This study provides evidence that Mittleberger's use of contemporary methods and advanced curriculum transitioned many of her students to higher education and careers, taking them beyond the traditional roles of their mothers—marriage and motherhood, Protestant benevolent work, and family philanthropy. Sources for profiling this private school, set in one of the most elite, powerful, Protestant enclaves of the late 1800's, include Cleveland newspapers, biographies, private papers, church and business records, city directories, county

records, census records, maps, atlases, Gilded Age histories, education histories, Cleveland histories, and school records—particularly the issues of the school’s journal/newspaper, *The Interlude*, written by the articulate students themselves.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the height of the Gilded Age in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, Cleveland, Ohio was the fifth largest city in the nation, a textbook version of the nineteenth-century industrial boom that gave rise to an inventive, entrepreneurial upper middle and upper class whose “Camelot,” so-to-speak, was collectively created as an enclave of homes, clubs, and private schools on or near Euclid Avenue, stretching from Erie Street (9th Street) to Willson Avenue (East 55th), and eventually to University Circle (approximately East 108th Street).

From this Cleveland enclave came the need for private education beyond the use of private tutors, and the desire to have children educated locally, rather than sending them back east to boarding schools. Thus came the rise of the Miss Mittleberger School for Girls—even more desirable since the owner and principal came from this elite circle itself. This paper follows the growth of Cleveland as Canadian immigrant businessman William Mittleberger arrived in 1840, rose to prominence within the Cleveland elite, and how his daughter, educated in Cleveland’s private schools, founded the Mittleberger

School after her father's death. Many Mittleberger students left behind records of their school experiences in the form of their journalism in *The Interlude*, which depicts their lives on many levels. What do these pages reveal of their lives as school girls, of their opportunities as women, and their awareness, or lack of it, as daughters of privilege in the Gilded Age in Cleveland?

And, importantly, Augusta Mittleberger uses her private education and “connectedness” to create this Victorian school, infusing the latest educational theories, merging classical education with contemporary curriculum, and successfully creating a college preparatory program resulting in certificates acceptable at the best of women's colleges at that time.

Mittleberger lived on fashionable Superior Avenue when her father, a prominent coal and produce merchant who had served on the early Cleveland Board of Trade, died in 1875 of Bright's Disease not long after his business failed. As we shall see in more detail in Chapter Three, the Mittleberger family had lived within elite business and social circles. Mittleberger left his ailing widow and 30-year-old Augusta in less than financial comfort. However, Augusta was niece on her mother's side to the wife of the famous James Madison Hoyt of Cleveland's elite Euclid Avenue (“Millionaires' Row”), was well-connected with prominent families, and was well-educated. She had attended Linda Thayer Guilford's Cleveland Academy and moved on to the Cleveland Female Seminary (CFS), graduating in 1863. She taught Latin and history at CFS, listed in the 1868 CFS catalogue. Mittleberger, who had tutored for some years, moved from her 1875 residence to quarters nearby on Superior, and again in 1877 to the Leek Block (later the Croxden)

on Prospect Avenue near Case Avenue, where she opened the Mittleberger School for Girls, enrolling approximately 50 pupils.

In 1880 she signed a lease to rent a large mansion moved from John D. Rockefeller's Euclid Avenue property (the former Levi Burgert home) to the southeast corner of Prospect and Case (40th Street today), opening a larger school serving the children of many upper and middle class Cleveland professionals, entrepreneurs, and out-of-town families, without a board of trustees or heavy financial patronage.¹ Though certainly not the first private girls school owned by a woman, this entrepreneurial effort was one of the first of its kind and size in Cleveland. The school closed in 1908 at Mittleberger's retirement.

Within several Cleveland histories are brief mentions of industrialist John D. Rockefeller having moved a second house from his Euclid Avenue property to the corner of Prospect and Case (40th) to serve as a school for girls in 1880.² A single photo of Mittleberger staff appeared in Jan Cigliano's *Showplace of America*—Cigliano had researched the architectural aspects of "Millionaires' Row," the huge Victorian homes of Cleveland's industrialists and entrepreneurs, and written her masters thesis on *The Cleveland Elite*.³ The sociocultural context of the Miss Mittleberger School, 1875-1908 is an intriguing case study of Victorian girls' school lives. This dissertation focuses on the girls as they saw themselves—how they lived, and what they thought of their head mistress, their teachers and their lives at 1020 Prospect. From 1889 to 1908 the students produced issues of *The Interlude*. Junior and senior girls (some sophomores) reported on both internal and external school activities, wrote and edited literary contributions (short stories and poetry), editorials, humor, travelogues, exchanges with other schools and

colleges, reviews, classroom news, and political and economic news/commentary. However, it is much more a study of class maintenance than it was about political or social reform for women. The emphasis remained on what was a vibrant school girl culture reported by these upper middle and elite class students. The archival collection is most complete 1895-1908, but there are scattered, earlier issues.⁴ At its closing, the school became the Mittleberger Hotel, and was razed in April of 1930. The deed on Ruthie and Moe's Diner (on school site since the 1950s, now Somer's Restaurant) still showed the property as formerly owned by Rockefeller.⁵

Research Questions

The study will focus on the following questions: What was the sociocultural profile of the nation and Cleveland, 1840-1915, enveloping the Mittleberger family? This includes Augusta's childhood, education, teaching service, and ownership/directorship of the Mittleberger School, especially in terms of class and gender issues. What influence and/or interaction occurred between Mittleberger and the Protestant elite which the school served for 31 years? What was the sociocultural context for these Victorian girls, 1875-1908, and how do the extant volumes of the *Interlude*, the school journal/newspaper, reveal or add to that context? What was Augusta Mittleberger's personal contribution to Cleveland's education history in terms of her curriculum, teaching and learning strategies, mentors, and comparisons to private and public school competitors? Did the influence of the Mittleberger School reflect a marked change in the educational and occupational futures of Mittleberger students as compared to the non-college status of their married mothers, keeping in mind that many of these elite mothers

and grandmothers may have been well-educated in the academy and seminary schools of the mid-to-late 1800s?

In answering these questions, we first take a brief sociocultural look at *class* in America (and how Mittleberger's family works its way into Cleveland's class structure), at *women's history* through the 1800s into the Progressive Era (and in what role did the Mittlebergers, and Augusta's school participate), and *education* (and to what end the Mittleberger School played a part in it.)

Rationale

Why explore this almost unheard of Victorian private girls' school? It provides a useful counterpart to two other girls' schools--Hathaway Brown School and Laurel School. While given short shrift, Mittleberger's school was extremely well-known in its time—her classes began in-home, but the larger school began in 1880 at Prospect. Brooks Academy for Girls began in 1876 as a separate part of the Brooks Academy (1875) as “Afternoon Classes for Young Ladies” of the Brooks School; ironically, it was two Mittleberger girls who requested attendance at Brooks, citing Miss Mittleberger's “illness.”⁶ The Brooks School, as we'll see in Chapter Four, went through a few different hands and locations before it was quietly purchased by Anne Hathaway Brown in 1876. Laurel School began as Wade School for Girls in 1896, became the Laurel Institute in May, 1900, and became the present Laurel School in Shaker Heights in 1928 after many years on Euclid Avenue under Sarah Lyman, who continued as principal and headmistress at Laurel School until 1931. When Mittleberger's School closed in 1908, some of the faculty and students were absorbed into Laurel school, and an alumni association thrived there, invited by Laurel, until 1954.⁷

Because the buildings that housed Miss Mittleberger's School are gone, and local historians seem to ignore or only briefly mention Mittleberger's School, it is intriguing to tell this school's story—its founder was truly an entrepreneurial, independent, unmarried, Victorian schoolmistress, who, within the cultural context of Cleveland's history, sent many of Cleveland's daughters off to elite women's colleges, and into professions. It must be said, too, that she educated innumerable wealthy daughters who married and became a strong part of the philanthropic and benevolent associations that wove together the fabric of elite Cleveland society in the Gilded Age.

By way of brief examples (more on graduates in Chapter Six), the school's rosters included the daughter of President Rutherford B. Hayes ("Fanny"), the daughter of President James Garfield ("Molly"), and the daughters of Secretary of State John Hay and wife Clara Stone. Belle Sherwin, who later became the national president of the League of Women Voters, attended Mittleberger, as did Elizabeth Cutter, who also taught English at the Mittleberger School, and later served as acting dean of Smith College. She married the Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow (partner of J. P. Morgan), and they raised the future Anne Morrow Lindbergh.⁸ Elizabeth's sister Annie Cutter became a well-known librarian at the Cleveland Public Library, and authored several books on library science.⁹ Theodate Pope Riddle became a famous East Coast architect, and founded Avon Old Farms, a school for boys in Avon, Connecticut, in the 1920s; she is also known for surviving the sinking of the *Lusitania*.¹⁰ Marie Wing became one of Cleveland's first women lawyers, and served as one of the first women on Cleveland's city council.¹¹ The list of girls who turned to successful college careers, founded schools themselves, or used their education and money in great philanthropic directorships is

admirable, considering the dismissive attitudes towards women, even wealthy women, in higher education in the late 1800s. The study will reveal that, while the social structure encouraged early and antebellum white women towards secondary schooling, there was a backlash against women in higher education, particularly in the late nineteenth century.¹²

It is my hypothesis that Augusta Mittleberger worked reciprocally within the Protestant elite network, but offered a rigorous college preparatory program based on her educational research which impacted her students far beyond the finishing school-to-marriage track of their mothers. Though these elite mothers were certainly successful within the venue of Protestant benevolence and social activism so prevalent in the late 1800s and early 1900s, many of their daughters sidestepped early marriage (several successful daughters sidestepped marriage completely) and attended college.¹³ Again, while we are saying “non-college,” were we to trace the histories of all the Mittleberger mothers and grandmothers, we might find that many were well-educate in the academy and seminary schools well in place before the 1850s and lasting into the late nineteenth-century.

Mittleberger is a footnote in Cleveland history—brief mention of her in Marion Morton’s *Women in Cleveland*, rare mention of her in most of the major Cleveland histories. When she is mentioned, there are a few lines that the Mittleberger School existed, mostly to explain the moving of the Rockefeller-owned mansion. There is a small tribute in Grabowski and Van Tassal’s *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, and her school comes up any time you find a reference in a famous graduate’s private and public papers. There is no detailed history of the school, other than a brief alumnae address by her associate principal Cornelia Blakemore Warner, and a small write- up at Western

Reserve Historical Society (WRHS).¹⁴ Yet, her story is in bits and pieces all over town, in the private papers of her wealthy clientele, in the newspaper coverage of commencements and social events, in the city directories that reveal her advertising, and in the school records left at the WRHS and Laurel School.

It was not necessary for the female children of Mittleberger's clientele to become teachers or nurses needing further training. Upper class parents thought of educating their daughters to assume the duties of life with their future elite husbands. Augusta Mittleberger moved past the expectations of these parents and moved Cleveland Victorian elite women forward with some outstanding results—and many gave back to Cleveland way beyond the charity balls and other social events of their mothers' time.¹⁵

Extending the topic of Jane Hunter's *When Young Ladies Became Girls* (2002), to the Midwest, this study portrays Victorian girls as vibrant and open to the opportunities for college and careers. Hunter's work, too, rejected the view that profiled Victorian girls as brooding and repressed.¹⁶

METHODOLOGY

The methodology here was immersion into the Mittleberger School Victorian period—it's history, socioeconomic strata, educational terrain, and how the network of elite families and urban businesses supported and interacted with Augusta Mittleberger's private school. This meant reading numerous secondary and primary sources on the American class structure, so as to gain a sense of how the Cleveland Victorian urban elite compared in major studies of American wealth. From the broad national view, to Cleveland social history, to the specifics of the Mittleberger School, I focused on the

intersections of education and class and gender distinctions. It was necessary to triangulate information from primary sources so as to resolve conflicting information in eyewitness accounts from the late 1800s. Instead of a separate “literature review,” secondary sources are laced throughout the chapters.

The brief national profile comes from a review of a number of 19th and 20th-century histories of the Gilded Age in Cleveland. Secondary sources include class-specific histories, women’s histories, works on Protestant culture, philanthropic histories, studies on capitalism and the Industrial Age, biographies of major figures, and studies of philosophical, scientific, and religious opinions prevalent in those times—broadly put, those works that best depict the Victorian profile useful to better understand Victorian society in Cleveland.

Again, the themes of class, gender, and education are supported throughout the Cleveland Victorian profile, a story told parallel with the William Mittleberger family and the daughter’s rise to prominence. This includes a much deeper immersion into primary source—researching the facts of the day in city directories, diaries, private family papers, speeches, photograph collections, government records (especially the city’s annual reports), maps, platte books, atlases, school board records, church records, business records, transportation reports, library records, cemetery records, morgue reports, Cleveland census records, archive collections, club and social organization records, the 1800s’ contemporary local newspapers and the school and journalism records themselves. The school records include catalogues, which include in-house photographs, course of study, curriculum, house rules, class lists, faculty rosters, advertising, grade books, parents’ names and addresses, alumni names and addresses, curriculum, and

names of textbooks. Ephemera such as dance cards, commencement invitations, programs, scrapbooks, and social correspondence, for example, were also used to draw this profile of Cleveland, the Mittlebergers, and the Mittleberger School. At the heart of the study, a lens on the student life of elite Cleveland and boarding students are issues of *The Interlude*, the student newspaper/literary magazine, 1889-1908.

Kyvig and Marty's *Nearby History* (2000) helped delineate what type of information could be gleaned from the many qualitative sources used in this paper. Photographs often revealed as much in the background as the forefront, prominent person or object. For example, though the destruction of the Rockefeller home on Euclid Avenue was the focus of a 1937 photo, it was the Beckwith home in the background, also visible from the Mittleberger School that was of interest. While "observation" is truly a rewarding methodology, it is the observation of detail in photos, the "back story" in actual objects, and the contextual story (such as a visit to Mittleberger's gravesite), and a review of Cleveland photo and scrapbooks that revealed the Mittleberger history.¹⁷ Fortunately, builders took clear, pre-landscape photos of new construction, especially the homes on Euclid Avenue, where many of the children and grandchildren attended Mittleberger School. The premier photographers in the late 1800s were Edward Decker and George Edmondson who took individual, family, and group portraits, and numerous school photos. These collections are available at the Western Reserve Historical Society. The scrapbooks of Cleveland florist and journalist Ella Grant Wilson are also available. She served the Euclid Avenue area elite, wrote two books on their homes and activities, and serviced the Mittleberger School for special programs and commencements.¹⁸

Kyvig and Marty listed four types of “historical traces” that divide the hundreds of sources useful to the researcher: 1) the immaterial, or intangible such as legends, beliefs, customs, transitions (i.e. the elaborate practice of “calling” on New Year’s Day in this elite enclave); 2) the material—photos, journals, scrapbooks, ephemera; 3) the written—diaries, letters, minutes, newspapers, books, magazines, deeds, wills, death certificates, funeral home records; and, 4) finally, representationals—symbols, banners, monograms, mascots, flags, membership cards, etc.¹⁹ Kyvig and Marty offered an “intangible” helpful to researchers-- the authors state that “memory, myth, and history compete to explain the past,” and they encouraged “linking the particulars with the universal.”²⁰

Thus, having read many of the broad histories of the nation and Cleveland in the late 1800s and early Progressive Era in terms of class, gender, and education, and traced the Mittleberger family history, time was spent looking for the very particular of the Mittleberger School to fill in such details as “the look” of Prospect—taking photos of the street now, and studying fire insurance maps, city maps of several different decades, platte books, and city reports. Gradually there formed a profile of referential locations of businesses, who owned or lived in neighborhood homes, the street paving, the sewer system, the location of the postal box at the corner, the nearest police station, and the proximity of the railroads, a profile quite beyond even the detail of the 1892 platte map. This could not have been a quiet school environment!²¹

Photographs revealed much detail beyond the girls’ revelations in *The Interlude* volumes. What pictures were hanging in the walls of the school? The nearby homes? What artwork? What did the subject’s clothing say about his/her possible place in

society? Why were particular pictures taken? Why is Augusta Mittleberger pictured with particular students, though not many? Did the lack of personal photographs over such a long period say something about Augusta's personality, possibly her modesty? Photographs revealed a number of sociocultural details about the neighborhood surrounding the Mittleberger School—the front porches, the amenities enviable at the time, the street life. Photographs can often be about change; in this case, photography over the years of this study tells us of the decline and the change in the area of the school. Real estate photos, photo postcards, stereoscopic photos, builder photos, and newspaper photos helped compare the opulent 1860-1890s' Cleveland setting with its later decline. Kyvig and Marty described this research process as “systematically addressing questions about them” (photographs), urging researchers to “form a consciousness of the photograph.” They also urged that one photo is itself a frame, and the question should be asked as to what one *does not* see.”²²

For example, Cleveland's group photos revealed the powerful, the activists, and what, if any women were included. Was there a largely Protestant elite presence, and what sects in such pictures? Was there an obvious Republican or Democratic presence, and what affiliations were working jointly on projects, etc.? What parents of Mittleberger girls sat on the school board, business boards, city council? Who seems to be with whom socially? What patterns emerge, such as what mother/daughter pairs always hosted the teas and such? Combining the photographic evidence with the school's journalism answered a number of questions about the school's very vibrant social and community life. There was evidence of some very serious events— Augusta Mittleberger, as an eighteen-year old, would have been able to see the bier of Abraham

Lincoln as it was drawn by cart from Willson Avenue (East 55th) down Euclid Avenue to Public Square in 1865; years later her students would have been exposed to the James Garfield presidential funeral (1881)—his daughter Molly attended the Mittleberger School before she left to attend Miss Porter’s girls’ school in Connecticut. President McKinley (assassinated in 1901) had been a guest in the homes of the Cleveland elite, especially that of Marcus Hanna, McKinley’s political “kingmaker” in the 1896 and 1900 elections.²³

Much research involved local 1800s newspapers, rich sources of historical and cultural information. As *Nearby History* and several other methodology and qualitative research texts such as Harold Silver’s *Education as History* (1983), Denzin and Lincoln’s *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd Edition), and Ronald E. Butchart’s *Local Schools* explain, researchers are like architects planning and constructing a building, and even more like detectives searching for answers. Early newspapers in Cleveland are not indexed (the *Plain Dealer* was the first to do so in 1937), making that information tedious to obtain. Useful immersion, however, meant reading microfilmed newspapers to gain the understanding of what nineteenth-century and turn-of-the-century journalism was like—it could be myopic, racially-insular, bombastic, biased in its presentation, preferential, especially in its politics and its attitude on gender issues. But nineteenth-century issues revealed who was in town lecturing, what the bookstores were selling, the who and where of local entertainment, who was misbehaving, what elixirs were available, the current dress styles, the latest toys, the state of business and banking, consumer needs, and what the city elites thought of Cleveland’s youth and their schools. For this study, that meant viewing *The Cleveland Herald*, *The Cleveland Leader*, *The Bystander*, *Town Topics*, and

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (three of owner Liberty Holden's daughters attended Mittleberger School).

It was helpful, too, that *The New York Times* is now indexed from its first issue in 1851; several prominent Cleveland families in this study later moved to New York, or had business and travel in that city. Larger obituaries were run in that paper, such as that of Augusta's early faculty member, sometime business partner, and associate principal, Cornelia Blakemore Warner. As another example of the school's influence beyond Cleveland, this study's epilogue includes mention of some descendants. For example, in 2007 businessman Peter Greenough, nephew of Liberty Holden, died in New York; he was married to the opera singer Beverly Sills, who passed away in 2008. This had some importance to the Mittleberger story—Greenough was related to the editor of Mittleberger's *Interlude* in the mid-1890s, Ethel Greenough. In some cases, large out-of-town papers have helped, in that some of the Mittleberger's graduates went on to found schools; thus Internet searches were useful for tracing graduates and descendants.

Finally, as to my methodology, it must be said that I interpreted primary sources through the lens of a journalist and journalism teacher. Much of my analysis of the Mittleberger School journalism came from having been a high school newspaper advisor and therefore I looked at format, style, production, ethics, content, advertising and the whole product of these nineteenth-century adolescents as my profession in journalism and education has taught me. It is obvious that I paid attention to conduct as much as content, but as an historian I stayed within the parameters of the Mittleberger girls' lives, not mine. After all, one cannot apply the cannons of contemporary school newspaper law to the nineteenth-century—it simply did not exist.

Chapter Topics

Like a film this story requires a brief establishing shot—one that builds a frame of reference detailing late nineteenth-century American class structure, the influence of Protestantism, the rise of the Industrial Age and capitalism, the prevailing ideas of the nineteenth century and its thinkers. Thus, **Chapter Two** offers an overall view of the Victorian social and cultural milieu and a profile of the Gilded Age and Progressive Eras, sticking mainly to information concerning class, gender, and education. Chapter Two additionally looks at the history of women's efforts for suffrage and empowerment, and provides an outline of 1800s' education history, including the rise of the academy, common school, the normal school, the high school, the progressive school, and women's education overall.

Chapter Three profiles Cleveland's social history, including public and private education between the Civil War and the end of the century. The chapter will then trace the history of the Mittleberger family within that Cleveland context, from father William's arrival in 1840 as a coal merchant, the family's inclusion in the elite enclave of Euclid Avenue, his wife's activism in the temperance and other social reform movements, Augusta's childhood and education, to his death in 1875. At that point his 30-year old daughter had to care for her ailing mother and build some financial security beyond her tutoring wages.

Chapter Four follows how, within two years (1877) her small in-home classes became the "Miss Mittleberger School for Young Ladies" on Prospect Avenue in the Leek Block, numbering about 50 students; and within five years (1880) she enrolled as many as 225 students in new quarters at 1020 Prospect, the corner of Case (40th) and

Prospect. However, no vestige of the large, expanded “1020” residence-turned-school which fronted on Prospect and stretched south down Case Avenue to boarding quarters on Sibley Avenue (now Carnegie Avenue) remains. It was an amazing feat of engineering that enabled John D. Rockefeller to move a second house on his property to that corner to rent and later expand the school at 1020 Prospect, with her eight-year business partner, Cornelia Blakemore (later Mrs. Warner). Chapter Four profiles the business of this Victorian Period private school, using particularly the records of the school and the newspaper/journals of *The Interlude* staff.

After presenting the actual school history, **Chapter Five** analyzes the contents of the *Interlude* issues, to “hear” the voices from real Victorian private school girls. Issues from 1889 through 1908 profile the girls’ intellectual and editorial offerings, not to mention the school’s academic and social activities, exchanges with other schools and colleges, alumni sections, creative writing, travelogues, etc. Themes emerge regarding the empowerment of women, Victorian concerns over health and loss, the sophistication of the girls’ interests, a supportive stand on Protestant benevolence, and an apparent awareness of their privileged status.

Chapter Six traces the lives of a number of the Mittleberger girls, exploring their accomplishments and their influence to the mid-1900s. The chapter looks for patterns and hints of how Mittleberger’s curriculum and community-integrated programs may have influenced these girls, particularly those who pursued higher education, that being Mittleberger’s particular goal, as she worked to encourage girls to enter elite women’s colleges of the day.

An epilogue (**Chapter Seven**) covers the retirement and death of Miss Mittleberger and the virtual disappearance of the urban elite from the Euclid Avenue area where stood the Miss Mittleberger School for Young Ladies. Mittleberger chose not to “sell” her school; it was obvious by 1908 that the appeal of living on Euclid Avenue and its fashionable side streets had greatly diminished with the expansion of the street railways, new construction further east on Euclid Avenue and University Circle, the city pollution from the mills, the rebuilding of churches to the east, the raising of taxes by city council, the on-going fight between Mayor Tom Johnson and “the privileged,” the encroaching immigrant population and, most important, the lure of cleaner, more isolated living in the nascent eastern suburbs. Other fashionable schools had already made the move. Augusta Mittleberger announced her retirement in June of 1908, feeling ill even then. The decision was made at the Mittleberger Alumnae luncheon of that year to raise \$25,000 to endow the Mittleberger Memorial Kindergarten, and to offer as a gift a “purse of gold coins” with which to send Mittleberger for rest in Europe; indeed, the Association did give her a thousand-dollar purse at her retirement and announced that \$9,000 had been raised for the endowment at that time, June, 1908.²⁴

Mittleberger spent the last seven years of her life involved in educational projects and the furtherance of the Mittleberger Memorial Kindergarten. She was an honorary member of the Cleveland College Club, and served several years on The Western Reserve Advisory Council (for education), with several prominent women and educators including her mentor, Linda Thayer Guilford, and Flora Stone Mather. The College Club still offers the Mittleberger Memorial Scholarship each year to two Cleveland high school seniors.²⁵

1. Note: this was a second house on the Rockefeller property (the formally owned Levi Burgert home), not Rockefeller's primary residence. Rockefeller wanted an unobstructed view to the corner. It was his wife, Laura ("Cetti"), who suggested in 1880 that her husband move the house to Prospect for Mittleberger's school.

2. Grace Goulder, *John D. Rockefeller: The Cleveland Years* (Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, 1972) 86-87; Jan E. Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910* (Kent, Ohio and London, England: The Kent State University Press, in cooperation with the Western Reserve Historical Society, 1991) 279-281; William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1990. Originally published Cleveland: World Publishing, 1950), 333, 367, 415.

3. Jan E. Cigliano, *The Euclid Avenue Elite, Cleveland, Ohio 1860-1910: Work, Life, and Architecture* (Oberlin College, Department of History, Masters Thesis, 1978. Western Reserve Historical Society)

4. *The Interlude*, 18 volumes, 1889-1908. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

5. Kelly, S. J. *Plain Dealer*, "'Rockefeller Moves a Home", September 25, 1937 in William Ganson Rose, S. J. *Kelly Archives* (vol. 2); personal interview with Ruthie & Moe's owner, 2006.

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CHAPTER II

THE CONTEXT OF THE VICTORIAN AGE

The parameters for this study are the 1876-1915 American Victorian period that began with the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition and ended with the Panama-Pacific Exposition (how most historians bracket the period's cultural trends), in that Augusta Mittleberger expanded her tutoring services and entrepreneurial efforts in 1876 after her father's death, and died in 1915, paralleling the Victorian period.¹

However, since her father arrived in Cleveland in 1840, and she was born in 1845, it is useful to sketch the broader national context leading to and surrounding the Cleveland/Mittleberger story profiled in Chapter Three. It is not the province of this paper to presume the detail of the great American Gilded Age histories; however, we can draw from them those aspects most pertinent to this particular story of class, gender, and education.

Mittleberger's life bridges a time of enormous events, from 1845-1915—the early urban growth of one of the nation's earliest nineteenth-century cities, the rise of the common and normal schools, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Industrial Age, the Gilded Age, and the early years of the Progressive Era. She lived under 17 presidents,

most of them Republican, and three major wars in addition to the western Native American conflicts. Intrinsic to this study is a major theme of women-centered issues—empowerment through social activism (i.e. the temperance movement, benevolence organizations), the battle for suffrage, access to education, and entrance into the American workforce.

Culture

The Victorian “valise” is a rather large one to unpack—pictures of bicycles built for two, high button shoes, dresses head to toe, wrap-around porches and turrets, men with cigars, vests, and pocket watches; touching snapshots of the noble immigrant used and abused by the “robber barons” of the industrial upper class, huge mansions and urban slums, horse carriages, romantic art selling soap and songs, a stern but benevolent Christian culture, immigrants as scapegoats for all social evils.

It was thought that the “Gilded Age,” a term coined from the novel of the same name by Mark Twain, meant that the Victorians covered over the rampant political corruption and the disparity between great wealth with its gilded opulence and material excess, and the common working man.

In an attempt to explain something of the malaise of the time, we turn to one important aspect of the Victorian Age--Americans, sadly, lived in a culture familiar with death and loss. The horrific loss of life and limb in the Civil War, ending in 1865, may have inured the nation, maybe even braced it for the diseases that would fell thousands of Victorians, take their children and plague their cities, and for the lack of safety

procedures that would kill hundreds in industrial accidents in the crush and crowd of immigration and industrialization. The Civil War killed two percent of the American population and maimed thousands of others. It dismembered southern communities creating a huge refugee problem. Freedom for slaves meant families who, willingly or not, migrated to the “new South” of Louisiana and Texas. Add to that the white refugees displaced during the war, especially along the southern eastern seaboard states.²

In 1876, Americans were only eleven years removed from the Appomattox surrender, had barely made a dent in Reconstruction, and had experienced huge shifts in population, which gives us another characteristic of the time—*mobility*. Besides the white displaced refugees, postwar blacks went first to southern cities, and then north even before the “Great Migration.” Farmers migrated to cities, and city residents migrated to the outskirts of cities for purposes of home ownership. There arose a “floating proletariat.”³ By 1870 depression “tramps,” itinerant drifters, moved across the country giving rise to “Tramp Acts” newly created by city councils to cope with vagrancy.⁴ Both black and white sharecroppers and miners also followed the work where it was available.

And there are examples of the sadder side of American mobility—beginning in 1854, the Federal government, overwhelmed with orphaned and abandoned children, especially in New York, shipped some 90,000 children from eastern cities to western states on “orphan trains,” often with dubious results, where child labor, rather than warm family immersion was the case.⁵

Americans were on the move as refugees, opportunists, and itinerant workers before, during, and after the Civil War—and before the great influx of immigrants from

southern and eastern Europe and the Far East became a source of blame for crowded cities.

Nineteenth-century Americans lived in a “horse culture,” and that simple fact accounted for much of the disease and ill health, especially that of city dwellers. Sewer systems were inadequate, and mosquitoes resulted in both the death of horses and people alike. The horse culture would die out with the invention of the electric streetcar, the railroad, the underground, and early 20th century automobiles, ending one of America’s very obvious health concerns, and urban sewer systems improved. Railroads also meant the end of much inland waterway commerce (another source of mosquitoes), such as the Ohio Canal that wound within the city limits to meet the Cuyahoga River in Cleveland.⁶

Beyond the ravages of war, illness, the ill effects of inadequate sewer systems and the resultant foul environment in an urban horse culture, Victorians lived with constant loss, particularly the loss of their children. It is well-documented that Ohio, in particular, was ravaged by influenza, tuberculosis, and pneumonia. Scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, cholera, and typhus killed thousands nationally; but diphtheria, unknown before industrialization, was an affliction of the respiratory system, and aggravated by air pollution; thus, long before childhood “DPT” shots, diphtheria claimed many children in the 1890’s growth of urban centers.⁷ It is shocking to discover, as we shall see, the number of prominent Cleveland families whose means in the Victorian period could not shield them from the loss of their children.

Besides the dreary numbers on loss was the devastating effects on children left behind or abandoned. In 1800 there were only six orphan asylums in the United States. By 1850 New York State alone had nearly 100 orphanages, already known for dreary

facilities, harsh discipline, little affection, bullies, regimens, physical labor, obsessive punishments—what became known as “institutionalism.” By the 1900s there were 1,200 orphanages in the United States giving residence to 100,000 children.⁸ Orphanages were the result of “good intentions” by what Mintz called the “child-savers;” these included elite philanthropists, evangelical Protestants, benevolent middle-class women, urban missionaries, penologists, amateur and professional charity and youth workers, attorneys, physicians, educators, and social workers with diverse motives.⁹ We shall see that Mittleberger’s mother, also named “Augusta,” was one of the primary fundraisers and political advocates for the Protestant Orphan Asylum in Cleveland.

However, though the orphanage system was a failure attributed to insufficient funding, overcrowding and a shortage of trained caregivers, the child-saving institutions, including the refuge houses and reform schools, were all an improvement over sweeping up children from the streets and confining them to prisons, almshouses, or rural county homes; and it certainly, as a more-or-less national response and tenant of Protestant ethos, explains the Cleveland pattern of child-centered activism reported in Chapter Three.

Corporal punishment was widespread and reformers challenged only cases of severity. Concern for child abuse and orphans did, however, fill the literature of post-1850 Americans. Alcott’s *Little Women*, Horatio Alger’s *Ragged Dick*, Richard Henry Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast*, Susan Warner’s *The Wide, Wide World*, the novels of Mark Twain (especially *Huck Finn*)—all were child-centered, positive stories for children, but categorically social awareness novels.¹⁰

Briefly, then, 1800s reformers had plenty to be concerned about. So, while social reformers spent a hundred years trying to improve conditions for vulnerable children, it was not until the “child study” movement at the end of the nineteenth century that Americans, especially educators, turned to the scientific understanding of children’s emotional, physical and sexual development. It was Charles Darwin’s 1877 “A Biographical Sketch of An Infant” credited for beginning the scientific study of child development. It was, however, G. Stanley Hall, Harvard’s first PhD in psychology, and the man who brought Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung to America in 1909, who would take center stage. A key principle of the child study movement was the understanding that children develop in stages, and consequently instructional grouping led to the restructuring of schools into kindergartens, junior high schools, and new kinds of high schools. Their efforts would impact education forever and we shall see that Miss Mittleberger’s incorporation of their thinking and others would qualify her school (1876-1908) as “progressive” in its attitude towards children.

The Rise of Industry and Urban Culture

Moving to mechanization, industrialism, and invention, certainly there was a commercialization of American agriculture in the nineteenth century, as machinery helped create the “bonanza” farms of the 1870s—larger acreage, mechanization, and crop specialization. On every level, however, while mechanization modernized agriculture (such as tobacco manufacturers using machines to roll cigarettes, first popular in the 1860s as a faster stimulant than chewing tobacco, cigars, snuff, or pipes) the effects were

devastating on small farmers, leading to the high number of farm foreclosures, 1893-97, and the rise of the land-lease arrangement.¹¹

American industry moved forward toward mass production throughout the nineteenth century, affected by advances in the interchangeability of parts, precision jigs and gauges, the handling of materials by conveyor belts, special or single-purpose machinery, slaughterhouse “disassembly” lines, sheet-metal stamping and electric-resistance welding, and Ford’s chain-driven assembly line in 1913-14, to name a few examples.¹² There was another price to be paid for progress—the industrial accidents that occurred before the introduction of occupational safety laws. In a 1913 report, 25,000 workers had been killed, 700,000 maimed or disabled.¹³ This was a time when policies of the states and the federal government were strongly pro-business through such measures as land grants, protective tariffs, favorable taxation, and the absence of direct intervention or regulation. However, eventually labor unrest was a major cause for concern as the American worker fought business and industry for higher wages, better working conditions, and safety. New agencies were created such as the National Guard, private police forces, militia, and detective agencies to deal with the bloody and destructive railroad strikes of 1877. In fact, one-third of the national strikes of 1870-1920 involved the railroads. We shall see that the urban setting of the Mittleberger School and the homes of the manufacturing giants of Cleveland were at some risk during strikes and worker riots, as graphically depicted in Clevelander John Hay’s social novel, *The Breadwinners*.¹⁴

Railroads and mass production transformed American life—mobility and the transport of goods, shifting from the American horse culture to the speed and

accessibility of goods and the diversity of opportunities lifted the restrictions that had framed America. Before, towns had to be near salt for survival (meat preservation), and near water for power and transportation. Small cities had expanded only two to three miles in the horse-drawn street cars and omnibuses. In 1887 with the invention of the “trolley car,” passengers traveled by four-wheeled carriages connected to cars by a flexible overhead cable. By 1910 this mode of transport could triple the size of a city, as business and residences developed adjacent to the trolley lines. With potential speeds of 20 miles per hour, the trolley was absorbed into the culture—Brooklyn named its famous baseball team “The Brooklyn *Dodgers*” for the fans who had to “dodge” the trolley cars.¹⁵ The rise of the “suburb” meant the ability to live in the country and the choice to work there or comfortably commute to the city for work. Transportation, however, changed the American city spatially and environmentally. Eventually, upper class residents left the noise and pollution of city transportation and belching industrial plants for country living, as did Cleveland’s Euclid Avenue residents after about 1920.

The expansion of cities and the success of suburban development, along with the increase in manufactured goods would force tenant farmers in the Victorian Period to compete, and consequently move when small farms began failing. One third of tenant farmers moved every year; most tenant contracts were for one year, and often tenants held two or three jobs to make ends meet. Migrant workers also increased (hand labor), moving across the country. It should be remembered that commercialization, mechanization—the new industrial capitalism, impacted food in the way it was processed and delivered, and clothing, how it was made and sold. Food processing eclipsed canning, or the national cultural of “putting up.” With the creation of the Heinz Foods

Company of Pittsburgh, for example, 200 new food products appeared on the shelves of grocers.¹⁶ Part of the Victorian American mobility was that created in this sea change of increased consumerism. The rural, agricultural isolation faded as people came to town to “shop.”

Thus, urban centers filled with immigrants and former agricultural workers looking to find work in this new industrial, manufacturing age which had risen with the coming of railroads and more mobility for both goods and passengers. The railroads even changed the concept of time in America, and Congress created time zones to make sense of railroad schedules. Railroads would be the largest 1800s employer, and would unite the country from the mid-1800s to the Progressive Era.

The “Gilded Age” was an age of invention, such as Thomas Edison’s 1879 incandescent light bulb. Invention also meant the growth of companies, such as Edison Electric merging with similar companies to form General Electric in 1892, and Alexander Graham Bell’s 1876 telephone leading to the National Bell Telephone Company (AT&T) by 1885. Cleveland, too, was a source of great inventions in the 1800s, including Sherwin and Williams’ paint solvents, Warner and Swazey’s astronomy instruments, Charles Brush’s arc lighting, numerous automobiles, and many other advancements.

Class: Origins and Theories

The overly decorous trappings of even middle class homes, the affectatious style of dress, the ornateness of furnishings, architecture, advertising, and the focus on consumer products all made pretty pictures of what really was outrageous class disparity

and material excess. This all against a backdrop of post-Civil War malaise, political corruption, terrible crowded urban conditions, and the Darwinian philosophy that promoted “the survival of the fittest” used as a moniker to justify the rise of the great industrialists in their excessiveness.

Charles Darwin’s *Origin of the Species* (1859) was strongly promoted by British theorist Herbert Spencer, a friend of industrialist Andrew Carnegie. Spencer thought the theory of selection could be applied to humanity, that “society evolved—and inevitably improved through a process of competition.”¹⁷

Darwin’s science, with Spencer’s help, was then incorporated into later nineteenth century social thought, applying evolutionary thinking to humans. William Graham Sumner glorified the competitive social order, and justified existing social inequalities as a result of natural selection. He and others combined Darwinian ideas with the Protestant work ethic and classical economics, disliked any activism on the part of government, and felt that unions and such-like organizations interfered with the “natural” workings of the social order. Hofstadter analyzed social Darwinism as a terrible mistake, one that might have started with good intentions as a sort of “secular piety” which called for hard work and hard saving, and a suspicion of leisure and waste. Such a mantra was felt necessary for “disciplining a labor force and a force of small investors.” It was a secular philosophy, but almost Calvinist in its praise of an economic life that “offered inducements to men of good character,” while it punished those who were, in Sumner’s words, “negligent, shiftless, inefficient, silly, and imprudent.” While this economic secular piety fit nicely with the Protestant ethic, Social Darwinism, in its extremes, fueled imperialism, racism, and misogyny, based on very bad science.¹⁸

Gould revisited this “bad science,” charging that nineteenth-century scientists manipulated studies to give weight to those who would say power, leadership, and ownership could be justified along racial and sexist lines.¹⁹ Let us, for this study, cite the voice of Gustave Le Bon, whom Gould rated as “the chief misogynist of Broca’s school:”

...All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man. They excel in fickleness, inconstancy, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason. Without doubt there exist some distinguished women, very superior to the average man, but they are as exceptional as the birth of any monstrosity, as, for example, of a gorilla with two heads; consequently, we may neglect them entirely.²⁰

It is such “scientific” writing that fueled negative attitudes toward women in the nineteenth century, especially when it came to the higher education of women. As anthropological interpretations of human behavior became more prevalent in the Victorian age, it is easy to see how racism deepened, and how imperialism could be justified as the conquering of “inferior” peoples.

The upshot of Darwin’s naturalism was that it challenged the thinking of anyone whose work included a creator such as Louis Agazziz,²¹ who advocated racial hierarchy, polygenism, the predictable decline of mixed-race populations, and those others such as Spencer and Morton whose studies were revisited and renounced in Gould’s *Mismeasure of Man*.²² Darwin affected Agazziz’s one-time protégé, the famous psychologist William James, whose “pragmatism” later paved the way for an even newer way of thinking that bridged late nineteenth-century thinking with the Progressive Era—directly influencing the shift in thinking about education through the eyes of John Dewey.²³ Many successful American men of power and wealth, including the Cleveland elite were

impressed by and adhered to the tenants of naturalism and pragmatism that bolstered their “faith” in capitalism and their own economic growth and accumulation of wealth as just outcomes. Historically it seems that in this Gilded Age, the culture of Protestant benevolence and social activism adapted to even greater wealth and became a culture of philanthropy. The integration of Social Darwinism with a majority Protestant culture was an ironic paradox—a religious class that at heart followed the tenants of natural selection, but under the guise of being chosen by God to lead with benevolence. With the blessings of Henry Ward Beecher, Spencer’s work and his praise of Darwin, Protestant theology backed the “survival of the fittest” mantra of the late 1800s. Beecher, in a sermon to his well-to-do Brooklyn parishioners in the late 1870s said: “Generally the proposition is true, that when you find the most religion there you find the most worldly prosperity.”²⁴ An even more succinct remark by this most influential minister: “no man in this land suffers from poverty, unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his sin.”²⁵

Promoting such men as Spencer and Sumner, such clerics touted, enabled, and justified the wealthy as a group bound by duty to God to be the benefactors to society. There was no doubt in their message. Sumner wrote:

The millionaires are a product of natural selection, acting on the whole body of men to pick out those who can meet the requirements of certain work to be done... It is because they are thus selected that wealth—both their own and that entrusted to them—aggregates under their hands....They may fairly be regarded as the naturally selected agents of society for certain work. They get high wages and live in luxury, but the bargain is a good one for society...²⁶

It is with this understanding of how Victorian, industrial, white, Protestant men might have gauged themselves that we explore what the Mittleberger girls thought of their own social standing, and how they might have pulled themselves beyond, or in spite

of, the attitudes toward women and the world of work prevalent in their fathers and mothers of the upper middle and upper class of Victorian Cleveland.

Eventually, the use of the hereditarianism explanation for caste in America would give way to the theories of environmental causation, which came out of the Social Gospel and Settlement House movements. American Jane Addams, after visiting the London East End slums, opened Hull House in the slums of Chicago in 1889. Her well-to-do, lifelong German-Jewish-American friend Lillian Wald opened House on Henry Street in New York. These daughters of privilege led the way for the Settlement House movement, laying on the idea of social responsibility now that social causation and social control meant the possibility of salvation for the less fortunate. When clerics and theologians turned these interventions to a Social Gospel movement that voiced the underlying mission of Christianizing the urban environment, hereditary explanations were dropped for this new social science of benevolence, active participation—what later became philanthropy by the wealthy.²⁷ It was this emersion into helping the socially disadvantaged that turned the American caste system that relied on Anglo-Saxon genes, to one of a defined culture, an aristocracy which embraced what Veblen called the “trappings” of the rich—the large homes, elite education, club memberships, social meccas, etc. The new aristocracy would be one of exclusiveness, and would serve to isolate the wealthy not yet ready to mix races or ethnicity unless by choice.²⁸

Twain and Warner’s title *The Gilded Age* depicted industrialism as just another frontier, up for grabs, made for men to be aggressive and opportunistic within a vulnerable environment ripe for corruption, and maybe eased over a bit too easily with

those public gifts and philanthropy, which fit so nicely within a culture of Protestant benevolence.²⁹

The Gilded Age social order was divided to a large extent, according to social class and mattered in the nineteenth century as a means of self-identity. Twain and Thorstein Veblen in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class* showed how Victorians were fascinated with material culture, that material differences defined life's accomplishments and possibilities.³⁰ So, unlike the property-owning, landowning gentry of Pessen's antebellum rich before Reconstruction, Victorians acquired things and conveniences to add to, say, the fashionable Queen Anne house, the ideal residence of the time. This might include communications technology like the telephone, dumbwaiters, elevators, electricity, sophisticated heating and plumbing systems, servants, imported rugs, tapestries, furniture, Tiffany lamps, and other trappings of wealth. It might be said that the American search for wealth went from a land hunger, to a home-ownership hunger, money-hunger, or durable-goods-hunger. The Victorians had become *consumers*, and the more one could reflect, even to excess, that consumerism, the more "upper class" or at least socially upper mobile one could appear.³¹

Veblen (1857-1929) wrote *The Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1899, identifying "conspicuous consumption" as the major indice of the upper class, emphasizing a primitive drive for distinction from others. A contemporary of the Victorian industrialists, Veblen's was an anthropological study, but, unlike the "survival of the fittest" thinking, his study excoriated the history of the rich as predatory in its acquisitions as earmarks of honor and status.³²

Edward Pessen's 1973 study³³ looked at early American wealth, and since a number of New Englanders and Middle Atlantic family members relocated to Cleveland on the Ohio frontier, a look at Pessen's *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War* is appropriate. Pessen turned to analyzing specific data, namely the tax records of the antebellum American cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn, New York. These pre-civil war large eastern cities had a landed, propertied, mostly inherited wealthy upper class going back to those early colonists whose early presence meant land grants and the good fortune to be the men with "the only game in town." These early men were the first merchants, landowners, shipbuilders, bank presidents, brewers, land speculators and such of the 1700s and early 1800s. They raised families who then married within their peers, pooling wealth in land, commercial properties, and family estates into the early 1800s. At this point, the heirs of all this early industriousness could become a class of educated, professional lawyers-capitalists—they were primarily merchants, investors, corporate officers, and real estate owners. It was through other fields that those urban upper class lawyers accumulated more wealth.

Pessen knew the definitions of class were subjective and varied, revealing above all the interests and values of those who formulated them. He added to the profile a unique quality of education, intimate associations, uses of leisure, social and public activities, a style of life, and political roles played by the members of a particular group. He explained that "uniform social behavior" by a distinctive class or group indicates that shared feelings of class solidarity or class consciousness ultimately prevailed over the feelings of the group's individual members. He spent considerable time noting the

creation of neighborhoods or “enclaves” of the wealthy (e.g. Boston’s Beacon Hill and Philadelphia’s “Main Line.”)³⁴

Besides a valuable historical look at the beginnings of the American elite, Pessen’s book detailed the indicators to look for in profiling the 1800s, early 1900s Cleveland urban elite beyond their incomes--the clubs, benevolent societies, philanthropic endeavors, educational backgrounds, occupational status, social events and cultural traditions, and other indicators of upper class Cleveland membership, including the social registers compiled for many years by two local dowagers, and printed with the backing of upscale advertisers. Certainly the enclave created along Euclid Avenue and its peripheral streets would be a major elite indicator.³⁵

Joseph A. Kahl’s *American Class Structure* (1953) focused on understanding the various factors that defined wealth when education and the “trappings of wealth” expanded the definitions of “upper class”—clubs, favorite social meccas, travel, societal memberships, philanthropic endeavors, the ephemeral “fame” or “notoriety,” involvement in politics, etc. He offered a history of stratification theory and reviewed several studies. One of Kahl’s major conclusions in his studies was that, in an industrial culture, skill (ability plus education plus training), authority, income and prestige are a single, meaningful complex.³⁶

American class structure, then, evolved from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century landed gentry, growth by speculation, investment, hereditary wealth, advantageous marital mergers, to an entrepreneurial upper class successful through ownership or investment in inventive, technological, industrial means of production (capitalism) in the Victorian period, within a culture profiled in this chapter.

The Progressive Era meant *reform*—it would not take away the fortunes of the 7,000 American millionaires, but some accountability, taxation, and elective representation put some restraint on elites. According to Kevin Phillips (2002), not until the muckrakers of the early 1900s did the country (under Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson) authorize a federal income tax and require a direct election of U. S. senators to replace their selection by state legislatures; the Federal Reserve Act, the Clayton Antitrust Act, and the Federal Trade Commission were also established.³⁷

This recent scholarship was helpful in understanding the tenor of the times for the schoolgirl daughters of many of Cleveland's elite. For example, Frank Rockefeller's daughter attended Mittleberger School; a few years later, in 1907, her uncle, John D. Rockefeller earned about \$100 million dollars with no income tax law. Phillips offered the comparison that the average American family earned under \$500 a year at that time. Did the girls at Mittleberger, at least the 9-12th grade girls who staffed and wrote *The Interlude*, comprehend the staggering divide between their families' fortunes and the laboring poor that poured into Cleveland to work in the mills and factories of their fathers' making?³⁸

John Steele Gordon's *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power* (2004) offered an explanation of the world view of men like the Cleveland elite, some of whose business practices are profiled. Understanding this world view provides a better read of the Victorian context of the Mittleberger School, and provides some insight into the families of these girls. The larger national focus of Gordon's work explains the 1873 and 1893 depressions that affected Cleveland³⁹—

Mittleberger's father lost his business in the first depression, and daughter Augusta managed her school through the latter.⁴⁰

Education

While the profile of American wealth and class is most useful in understanding the culture of Victorian Cleveland's well-to-do, a brief history of 1800s American schooling would also serve as a necessary preview to Chapter Three's Cleveland story.

Education prior to the Antebellum era was not about systems, but about apprenticeships. There was the prevailing attitude that educating children was to promote democracy, but it was also a large part of the Protestant culture of benevolence. These early apprenticeships and small schools with few pupils were meant to serve as preparations for ministers, teachers, and civic leaders. The family unit was the core of economics in all but urban areas, and thus early schools had little concern for social problems.⁴¹

At the turn of the nineteenth century, only a small percentage of school-aged children attended schools—and these were essentially private in that fees were often paid even for schools erected by civic entities, obscuring the line between public and private schools. Because Augusta Mittleberger was educated at the successful Cleveland Academy as a child, a look at the academy movement is appropriate. The “academies” began roughly in the early 1700s, some lasting as late as the early 1900s; they were defined in *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* as relatively advanced forms of schooling including traditional classic subjects such as Latin, Greek, and geometry, some form of legal incorporation or

charter, and some funding (private, religious, government) beyond tuition. Early American examples include the first academy for women in French-speaking New Orleans (1827), established by the Ursulines; the Franklin Academy in Philadelphia (1753), and the New Bern, North Carolina chartered academy (1766). Fifteen essays, nearly half of which are written by one or both of the editors, discuss and distinguish among the hundreds of “academies,” some of which were merely “dame schools,” where a woman of some skill taught a few children in her home. Intrinsic to the definition of these academies, according to the editors is that such schools served very diverse constituencies, and, to retain financial support, were more or less forced to “accommodate” the demands of parents and financial supporters. Certainly a positive to such schools was the educational opportunity presented to racial, ethnic, and religious groups, especially to females.⁴²

As it evolved through the nineteenth century, the academy became a type of “grassroots synthesis of colonial academy structure and venture school entrepreneurialism,” according to Beadie and Tolley. They prepared men for the ministry, answered the need for mercantile education, and served as a means of higher education for both sexes according to Margaret Nash, who, unlike educational historian Thomas Woody (who felt academies taught females ornamental subjects) saw similar curriculums for both men and women. Nash also asserted the academies, seminaries and high schools provided teacher training as early as the 1820s, and that young people, especially women, had sought out schooling to become better teachers, though no degrees or certificates were required at that time.⁴³

By 1850, when Mittleberger would have been five years old, there were nine times as many students in American academies than there were in American colleges—there were over 6,100 academies. One of the greatest legacies of these academies was the expansion of higher education for women—Beadie and Tolley’s chapter “Legacies of the Academy” in *Chartered Schools* cites that, though women may have been accepted by these *private* schools for purely financial support (public and political encouragement was therefore not an actual obstruction), women outnumbered men in academies by 1850. Thereafter, state legislatures and town leaders had to consider the inclusion of women over the next three decades in any substantial tax-based investments of schools. And so, it may be said that academies forced the hand of the nineteenth century to pave the way for women in higher learning.⁴⁴

Academies began to decline, however, with the rise of the normal school and the growth of the high school. Once the normal schools began to proliferate and offer teacher training programs for women, the academy offerings were a bit redundant. Certainly the culture of intellectualism gained in the academies promoted the desire to teach, and is one of the great legacies of the academy movement. Despite the decline of academies and female seminaries, some continued to be founded in the late nineteenth century. The origins of Miss Mittleberger’s School are to be found in the academy movement.⁴⁵

It is of interest to look at the confrontation between the rise of the state normal schools and the nineteenth-century academies. The state normal school patterned the German teacher seminary and the French *ecole normale*, and would prepare teachers for the mid-nineteenth century American common schools (public schools).⁴⁶ Christine

Ogren has written a focused history of the state normal school in *The American State Normal School* (2005).⁴⁷ Beginning with Massachusetts in 1839, some 180 plus normal schools would operate in 42 of 46 states and three territories. They did not offer bachelor's degrees; their official purpose was to prepare students for low-status professions, according to Ogren, in that universities and colleges had no interest in providing for such. Many of these institutions later transformed into what we know as "teachers colleges," and then, as soon as possible moved away from a focus on teacher training to broader offerings and bachelor degrees as colleges, even universities, though some of that status was a stretch. The normals garnered little respect, and many failed if they did not become colleges. The Cleveland Normal School opened in 1874 to provide a teacher corps for public schools—it later merged with Western Reserve University in a collaborative Cleveland School of Education in 1915.⁴⁸

The hey-day of the normals was the 1870s through the early 1900s, and they welcomed women, older students, nontraditional students. Elites considered normal schools to offer a lightweight curriculum and little status. Nevertheless normal schools provided higher education to women, who were often excluded from universities.

American society, still largely Protestant in its culture, marginalized women, minorities, and working class students. Prescriptive gender ideology, defined by middle class mores, called for women to be nurturing, gentle, maternal, pious, and obedient. Women who stepped outside this "women's sphere" were met with suspicion—an unwelcoming culture for the thousands of immigrant women and self-actualized women who needed or wanted to work. It was obvious that urbanization and industrialization would increase the need for teachers, especially with the campaigns by women such as

Emma Willard and Catherine Beecher who found women uniquely qualified to teach the young. As schools became ever more an extension of the family, more and more women were drawn to the state normal teaching programs and programs that would mean a place in the urban, clerical workforce. However, an important legacy of the state normal school was that, as women struggled for acceptance in the public sphere, teacher-education programs fostered a sense of professionalism. The normals prepared women for middleclass life, and gave a spark of possibility for women. Consider that women served as class officers, debated current issues, and dominated the basketball court where possible. Just as we will see in the Mittleberger School, given the opportunity for such experiences, women were advancing toward the eventual Industrial and Progressive Eras and the opportunities brought by a new world of work. Ogren believes normals were an integral, revolutionary institution of higher education, and certainly a bridge for the education of women in higher education.⁴⁹ Thus, the decline of the academies came in part, from the rise of the normal school which drew women from the private schools, many of whom wanted to be teachers. The academies and normals were almost all private; the proliferation of “common schools” and the “standardization” movement resulted from the industrialization of America.⁵⁰

The other source for the academy decline was the rise of the public high school. While chief concern at first for “The Committee of Ten” (birthed in 1887, formalized in 1892) selected as the premier reform group for the American high school was the inclusion of the classics in curriculum, (most of the ten men were pro-classics); the idea of uniformity was the impetus. Feminists decried the absence of women on the committee, chaired by Charles Eliot, President of Harvard. Though high schools had

begun mid-century, by the 1880s, for our discussion, only about one percent of the population went to high school—202,963 pupils (1889-1890). Significantly, 57.6 of the pupils and 64.8 percent of the graduates were girls. Private schools enrolled about half boys and half girls. In Ohio, in 1890, 13,995 students enrolled, but only 1,089, or eight percent of the total graduated, and those were mostly city youth. It was rare that students entered high school, and rare that they graduated.⁵¹

Returning to our brief American educational history, it was 1830 before America had locally controlled schools with voluntary attendance. There was no professional teacher core, nor quality school buildings. The wealthy, for example Boston, favored private tutors and eventually private schools. Westward expansion at the turn-of-the-century had dispersed nationalism geographically, and sectional conflicts arose over the slavery question. Immigration, especially the flood of impoverished Catholic Irish posed a considerable problem for the Protestant coastal cities. Put more bluntly by Tozer, Violes and Senese (1998), upper classes also feared abuse of the vote by uneducated immigrants. Schools would be the answer, then, to promoting American nationalism, making informed citizens of the electorate, and providing a moral compass for same.⁵²

Katz saw the development of schools as an answer to social problems, the solution being the rise of bureaucracy as a response to five developments in American society: 1) the emergence of democratic politics, 2) industrialization, urbanization and the formation of a working class; 3) the state's assumption of direct responsibility for some aspects of social welfare; 4) the invention of institutions as means for solving social problems; and 5) the redefinition of family.⁵³ As America moved from an agrarian society and became less dependent on young labor, society became more child-centered,

and schools changed into more formal institutions now age-graded with emphasis on social order, the socialization of the young, and the promotion of economic development (skills for work). By the third quarter of the nineteenth-century, America had turned to institutions as surrogate families for the mentally ill, the criminal, the delinquent, and the schoolchild. Issues of poverty, public health, crime, insanity, disease, and the condition of labor and needs of the workforce had all become concerns of school “systems.”⁵⁴

The demand for labor came with the mass production and commerce made possible by the building of canals and railroads which connected cities, but to an unconnected citizenry. The need for common schooling, then, rose from demography, politics, and economics. And with the religious shift from the emphasis on a wrathful God and human depravity to a benevolent God and a rational man came the incentive to reform with a view to improved social order.⁵⁵

The “common school movement” was most associated with Massachusetts lawyer, state legislator and senator, and Secretary of Education (1837), Horace Mann, who promoted the common school as a “great equalizer.” He also ushered in the establishment of the first American normal school (for teacher training) in Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839, and saw to the creation of 50 high schools during his tenure as Secretary of Education. He later served in the U. S. House of Representatives (1848), and became President of Antioch College in 1852 until his death in 1859.⁵⁶ Mann’s common school emerged as a nineteenth-century blend of natural law, faith in progress, capitalistic morality, and liberal Protestantism.⁵⁷

The common school was, however, dominated by Protestant culture. It is a not so noble case that many New Englanders, according to Joel Spring (1997) thought that the

common schools would avoid assimilating what they deemed “savage” cultures, namely African-American and Native American cultures. European Americans feared such cultures would contaminate white blood, and hoped for a unified Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture. Forced removal from lands, separate schools, and laws against interracial marriages had been the solutions thus far; however the arrival of Irish Catholics, one million by 1845, posed a threat. In case after case, Catholics were denied the use of their own bible in school, and forced to read the King James Bible and follow Protestant curriculums. Consequently, the one million Catholic immigrants who settled in the large cities of the eastern seaboard between 1830 and 1850 would eventually develop Catholic parochial schools across the country. Conflict between Protestants and Catholics over the schools came to violence, especially in Philadelphia.⁵⁸ At issue, particularly, was the “double taxation” for Catholics who funded Catholic schools, but were forced to pay taxes for the public schools in addition. We will see that the “Catholic issue” filled the Cleveland papers as Mittleberger thought to expand her small school in the mid-1870s.

There is little doubt that the year 1876 and the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, attended by some 10 million people, sparked national pride in science and technology accomplishments and a focus on “pedagogical innovations” such as new theories for manual education—theories that drove the educational reform debate. As the country industrialized, school reformers wanted to leave behind, or at least balance a curriculum of classic studies with programs for preparing efficient workers as opposed to the old hands-on apprenticeship programs.⁵⁹

To keep this education history profile brief, suffice it to say that the common school movement morphed in the 1870s into what historian David Tyack called “an age

of institutionalization,” separating the child from family in order to learn “order, regularity, industry and temperance,” under a central administration with imposed curriculum and an urban discipline for purposes of social order and control, but, more positively, as a means of opportunity. Tyack thought that nineteenth-century education “did more to industrialize humanity than to humanize industry.” Public urban education meant to transform children into modern workers, and to properly socialize them to cope with new modes of production, hierarchical systems, role-specific demands, and a culture that would emphasize achievement and production.⁶⁰

Tyack said the second half of the nineteenth century, most public educational leaders were not using schools to divide Americans between workers and upper classes, as they felt class-consciousness was wrong, but rather their focus was on the “aggregate social and political functions of schooling.” Leaders felt schooling was “the most humane form of social control and the safest method of social renewal.” By 1866, discipline methods included appealing to self-respect and shame, emphasis on cleanliness and clothing appearance, recitation, large assemblies, marching, military-like behaviors, corporal punishment, humiliation, and degradation, much of it already under criticism. Add in a programmed curriculum, rules for deportment, memorization, the importance of obedience, regularity, and precision. There was also a definitive attitude that academic incompetence equaled moral laxity.⁶¹

Schools became more rigid with the advent of industrialization into the 1870s and 1880s. It should be understood, Tyack pointed out, that “social control” was not some authoritarian government dictum—mob violence (labor, racial, ethnic, religious, and class) had taken many lives and caused much damage. There was indeed a need for

control, and schools would resort to corporal punishment to socialize particularly immigrant children, a largely discriminatory attitude toward the foreign-born. It is shocking to read of the upper-level education leaders who spoke of the “depravity” and the “generations of iniquity” in the blood of immigrant children in justifying the use of corporal punishment in immigrant neighborhood schools. Schools, having gone through the 1873 recession, continued labor riots, and a too-eager bloated bureaucracy intent on creating future robotic, efficient workers, meant a climate for educational reform, as the country began the famous “nineties.”⁶²

From 1878, large urban systems began to buck, or defend what many such as Hiram College President Burke Hinsdale (later Cleveland’s Superintendent of Schools) in 1877 referred to as the graded school system being “exceedingly rigid and inelastic,” saying that schools did not distinguish one student from another, and that routine and ritual separated teacher from pupil. The reform debate went on—in a nutshell, too much overlapping administration was stifling systems that needed more freedom, but control and discipline was the mindset. One thing is clear—the common school meant to be the great equalizer, had been highly impacted by urban industrialization.⁶³

Lawrence Cremin (1961, 1964) began his study of schooling in the 1876-1917 period with the then-controversial series on the schools “A Science of Education” by Joseph Mayer Rice in *The Forum* magazine in 1892. In his study of 36 cities, 1200 teachers, school board meetings, and parent interviews, Rice, in nine issues, put forth a blasting “objective assessment” referencing the state of education. As Cremin summarized it, there were “political hacks hiring untrained teachers who blindly led their innocent charges in singsong drill, rote repetition, and meaningless verbiage.” The study,

however, also praised the “all-side” education of children where some schools pursued nature study, art, social activities, and basics taught by enthusiastic teachers.⁶⁴

Cremin pointed to this study as a turning point, at the end of which was a call for progressive schools which would divorce schooling from politics (such as ward bosses in Philadelphia controlling the appointment of teachers and principals), and better-trained teachers improved in both professional and intellectual competence. Cremin said the media loved this report, and the professional press hated it. In fact, Cremin refers to this effort as the equivalent in impact to the *Nation at Risk* study of the 1980s. He names the professional periodicals of that period as *The School Journal* (New York), *School*, the *Journal of Education* (Boston), and *Education* (New England). Cremin’s book profiles Horace Mann, the Hegelian intellectual William Toney Harris, Francis W. Parker, who fostered the manual training and vocational education movement in America, and those Europeans and Russians who influenced nineteenth-century American education such as the Germans Pestalozzi (for his methodology) and Friedrich Froebel (for his view of the child). We shall see that these two German gentlemen were strong influences in the Mittleberger curriculum. She would envision an expanded school after her father’s death, just as the reform movement grew in momentum, sparked by the 1876 Exhibition.

As Mittleberger’s school continued to 1908, bridging into the Progressive Era, let us take a brief glimpse at some thoughts on how education morphed in the early 1900s. William Reese shifted the focus of educational research from the history of large urban school systems to previously unexplored urban sites, specifically Kansas City, Milwaukee, Toledo, and Rochester. He then introduced new characters into the study of the Progressive movement. The Toledo study, for example, found that reformers there

feared that the private virtues of the elite class could be stamped on the face of public institutions, and that after the 1840-1890s formative years of state-sponsored, mass education, elite reformers looked to the progress and reform movement to aid a free-market economy. State controlled schooling became embedded in social life. Reese said that the 1890s depression and the emergence of an industrial monopoly capitalism formed the base for Progressive reform and supported the idea that white males with similar ideological and class perspectives helped found public school systems. The idea of centralization and standardization appealed to professional, economic and social elites, who wanted graded, uniform instruction and a centralized school board, not private, district and parent-controlled systems. This elite-driven movement, according to Reese, feared the vice, crime, and sedition that might result without schools, and reflected the goals of the elites—"law-abiding, wealth-producing citizens."⁶⁵

Though Reese gave due to the elites of that day, he emphasized the grassroots efforts of women activists especially, and said that the progressive reform movement was much more a compilation of conflict, compromise, and shifting political coalitions, and that school board elections were hotly contested. It seems his position was that historians have over-emphasized the influence of elites. We shall see in Chapter Four whether Mittleberger's clientele exercised great influence on her school, or whether she maintained her independence within that elite Protestant network.⁶⁶

Women's History

As important to our discussion here is the parallel story in women's history in the nineteenth century. How far had American females come in terms of rights and education by the time Mittleberger began her school?

Economic necessity continued to define women's role throughout the colonial and revolutionary years, with the understanding that many women did assume unconventional roles both covertly, such as those active in the struggle for independence who served, and those who acted outright in leading anti-tea leagues, boycotting British goods, producing and providing clothing for troops, serving as writers/journalists, or beginning and/or teaching at female academies, etc.

For women it was the introduction of machine work that favored the talents women already possessed from their domestic work that opened the world of "work" valued as such by men's definition of work. When Samuel Slater forecast the textile industry by harnessing water power to spin cotton in 1790 at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, the doors to female "wage earners" opened within twenty years.⁶⁷

Scholarship has rooted out the many contributions of women in American history. Nash, Hunter, Tolley, Beadie, and many other contemporary women historians concur that women were major contributors to American growth and management from early on. However, in a world of male domination of press, publication, and academics, the public lacked the coverage or publication that would have made those contributions more clear.

We have emphasized the idea of economic necessity creating change in the "women's sphere;" however, messages were mixed throughout the nineteenth-century. The year of Mittleberger's birth (1845), one of the most popular women's magazines, Godey's *Lady's Book*, ran the article "Empire of Women," extolling the domestic, submissive wife, and recognized the home as the "empire." Virtues included women's purity, piety, and moral superiority—all written about in sentimental, flowery language.⁶⁸

In 1841, Catherine Beecher wrote *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, which offered the argument that the homemaker should go about her domestic duties with knowledge of such through education, and based on Christian principles. In her 1846 book, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book: Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy*, she told its audience that the most important work was in the home, and the term “domestic science” proliferated—more so when the growth of American cities brought new urban bookstores.⁶⁹

Margaret Fuller, however, writing as a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, was calling for equality between the sexes, urging women to have less dependence on men. As editor of the Transcendentalist journal, *The Dial*, she was advocating women-only “Conversations,” or seminars, to make separate time and space in which women could learn among themselves. She advocated college for women and any occupation they wished for; she was one of the very early critics of women’s lives. In the Antebellum Era, the suffragette movement added to the tensions between domestic and economic feminism.⁷⁰

Many mid-nineteenth century inventions further opened the world of work to women. However, Elias Howe’s sewing machine invention in 1853 was both a boon and an avenue of exploitation for and against women. Employers charged machine rental rates, plus costs for thread and fines for broken needles, deducting all from already meager paychecks. Beecher, having seen the poor conditions in the factories of the east, had refined her message to urging women to become teachers in the westward movement, rather than suffer the exploitation such as that she had seen at the Lowell, Massachusetts mills.⁷¹

In the 1860s the Civil War meant that women would be trained by the hundreds as teachers, paid at one-third the wages, replacing men gone to war. In fact, by 1870, women were 66 percent of teachers (84,548); 96 percent of trained nurses, but only five percent of typists. By 1880, however, women were 68 percent of teachers, 92 percent of nurses, and *40 percent* of typists, as industries bureaucratized. As business opened to women, the female clerical force rose dramatically: 1880 (40 percent); 1890 (64 percent); 1900 (77 percent); 1910 (87 percent) and 1920 (92 percent). Overall, women were 15 percent of the workforce in 1870, and 21 percent by 1920. By 1920, women accounted for 84 percent of the teaching profession.⁷²

And so a picture emerges of what the “ideal” role for women was in the nineteenth century, and what was the “reality” of women’s lives—the work and education that expanded as the economic needs of the country changed, the cultural tensions between an extolled domestic sphere and an idealized Victorian female image versus the working woman, and the struggle for women’s rights within all that shifting cultural milieu.

As for that struggle for women’s rights, few realize that Susan B. Anthony and her cohorts had already been working on the suffrage issue for *fifty* years by the turn of the twentieth century. It would be 1920 before the 19th Amendment granted women the vote ; Anthony would never see that; for she died in 1906. Still, she was highly revered by many by the 1880s, well-deserved after a stunning lifetime of touring and lecturing for suffrage, thousands of letters, several diaries, and some 10 years of writing four volumes of *History of Woman Suffrage*.⁷³

After meeting reformer Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851, however, Anthony focused on her life's work in tandem with this new friend who had already been 11 years in the antislavery and temperance movements. Anthony felt strongly that the only way women would be empowered would be to have the vote, and so began a career into her eighties of networking and lecturing across the country. Anthony was little deterred, pursuing the right of self-representation, forming a giant political sisterhood, taking on the women's issues of the day—domestic violence, the frustration of being single, the value of female friendship, the victimization of prostitutes, the battle for equal pay, sexual harassment, property rights for women, the evils of alcohol and tobacco, and, most of all, the vote for women.⁷⁴

When Anthony began her 1857 lecture tours, (two years before Mittleberger would begin her four –year program at Cleveland Female Seminary), a woman had no legal right to any aspect of her relationship with her husband, according to Sherr. She could not earn money, make contracts, own property, sue or be sued, or be guardian of her own children. This lack of rights meant she could be seized if she ran away, and beaten. Thus, if necessary, she had to beg for spending money, and, were the husband to take the children away, she lost custody. There were no college opportunities for women, single or married, and few areas of paid work—housework, sewing, teaching, and factory work, all at much lower pay than men. There was no licensing or certification of women in the professions. And though no women could vote for so much as a school board member, single and widowed women who did own property were required to pay taxes.⁷⁵

Except for the vote Anthony wanted so much, most of the above problems were addressed by the end of 1900—married women had most of their legal rights. The 1900

census, as quoted by Anthony proved that women had entered numerous previously male-dominated professions, for there were 4,585 women doctors, 5315 women hotel keepers, 208 women lawyers, 10,810 women artists, etc.⁷⁶

Much change had occurred for women by the time Augusta Mittleberger opened her private school. Anthony's national efforts had changed much of the climate for girls' ambitions by the 1880s. Anthony's story of fighting for women's rights continued until her death in 1906, but for our purposes here, the national Victorian context is rife with empowerment for women in several states, constant legal and social issues testing by the suffragette movement which included Susan B. Anthony's appearances in Cleveland, Ohio, and the assimilation into the industrial work force of women to grow and bolster the economic necessities of the American economy.⁷⁷

Women's Education

By 1776, Abigail Adams, wife of the President, encouraged the need for education for women, and a few years later, Judith Sargent Stevens of Massachusetts spent the last two decades of the 18th century as an essayist fighting to prove that the "alleged inferiority of the female sex" was due to the lack of or disparity in education opportunities. In the nineteenth century, women made inroads into the growing systems of education. One of the earliest endeavors of a girls' private school practicing a more "equal" education was that of the Litchfield Female Academy, incorporated in 1827 and supervised by Sarah Pierce in Litchfield, Connecticut. So successful teaching in her home since 1792, the community had given her a building in 1798. In 1787, graduating students at the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia promoted women's influence on

the young as the basis for female education. The Young Ladies Academy of Boston (1797) under Susanna Haswell Rowson offered girls education beyond the elementary level, and the academy concept spread across the country at the turn of the century as previously discussed, offering such courses as geography, rhetoric, mathematics, music, and science.⁷⁸

One of the most-noted stars of this fight for better female education, however, was Emma Willard, who in 1819 lobbied for state funding for a secondary school before the New York legislature. When she was rejected despite her strong argument in the pamphlet “An Address to the Public...Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education,” the town council of Troy, New York raised \$1,000 for Willard to purchase a building to establish the Troy Female Seminary in 1821 (renamed the Emma Willard School in 1895). It is this school that served as the model for other secondary and teacher-training schools across the country, including the Cleveland Female Seminary (1854) at which Augusta Mittleberger attended and taught in the 1860s.⁷⁹

It was Catherine Beecher and her sister Mary who opened a girls’ school in 1823, later the Hartford Female Seminary in 1827, where Beecher reworked teacher training methods and added calisthenics to the curriculum. No suffragette or abolitionist (her sister was Harriet Beecher Stowe), she promoted teaching roles for women across the country, and saw domestic science as the core of women elevating themselves within the domestic sphere, and as the moral educator at home.⁸⁰

The secondary school education movement struggled, however. The first public high schools for girls opened in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1824, and in Boston, the Boston High School for Girls in the 1820s—most large cities did not open secondary

schools to females until after the Civil War (Cleveland opened its first high school--open to girls from its inception--in 1846).⁸¹

African-American women struggled, however, but there were private opportunities, though few. Efforts to educate black children met with objection, and efforts to include black children in white schools met with violence. When Prudence Crandall tried to include a black child of a Canterbury, Connecticut local farmer in her girls' school who wanted to learn to teach other black children, white parents threatened to withdraw their daughters. Crandall instead closed the school and reopened it as a boarding school for young black women in 1833, and offered teacher training. The establishment of a "black law" forbidding out-of-state students such as Crandall's boarders led to her arrest and the mob violence of the community forced her to close the school in 1834. One only has to look at this 1830s travesty, and realize that the Little Rock, Arkansas stand-off and its vicious attempt to block integration of its high school occurred over 125 years later, indicative of the long struggle for African-Americans of both sexes for equal education. Two bright spots in this long history were the degree earned by African-American Lucy Sessions, graduating in 1850 from Oberlin College, and Sarah Jane Woodson, another Oberlin College graduate who became the first black woman to teach at a college, Wilberforce University in Ohio, in 1859.⁸²

Thomas Woody's *History of Women's Education in the United States* (1929, two volumes), serves as a primer for this topic in the scope and detail of his huge undertaking. Woody, born in 1891, served as a girls' basketball coach in Warsaw, Indiana. He saw the 1919 passage of the 19th Amendment, but he felt that only educational equality would really emancipate women politically, socially and economically. He certainly spoke his

mind, emphasizing the mid- nineteenth-century feminization of teaching as a need for cheap labor and an income for respectable single women, not a romantic notion of women's innate desire to nurture children, and he ridiculed the idea that higher education prevented women from marrying and having children.⁸³

Woody stressed the importance of informal education in the lives of women—the management and organizational experience learned throughout a network of benevolent societies, church programs, clubs, and literary societies. He did favor a move away from the classic liberal arts to a more practical curriculum, but was at odds with M. Carey Thomas on the idea of women's colleges; he preferred women attending co-educational colleges and universities. A criticism of his work is that he did not deal with the issues of social class, religion, or the education of immigrants and African-Americans. Despite these lapses, Woody's work is enormous in its historical detail about American educators, schools, and the development of the teaching profession.⁸⁴

Margaret Nash's *Women's Education in the United States (1780-1840)* puts forth a major shift in how we should think about women's education during that time. It has been widely assumed that the influence of Catherine Beecher's theories on "separate" and "domestic spheres" meant schooling was limited to domestic economy for the home and an attitude of accepted difference and duties between the lives of women and men. Nash argues the actual dominance of these theories in 19th women's education, and also feels historians have exaggerated the dominance of that view which stated that women were not capable of reading serious news or literature; that women were intellectually inferior, and that higher education would surely ruin home, family, and the health (stress) of women. By studying the actual enrollments and curriculum offerings of numerous 1800s

academies, seminaries, institutes, and colleges up to 1840, Nash revealed the truths of the time—that women were offered much more than domestic or “ornamental” education (i.e. French lessons, art, music, deportment). Though no college admitted women before the 1830s, Nash found that formal higher education for women was well-established by 1840, as were courses in natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, ancient languages, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Nash’s research also found that, contrary to those who painted a picture of frivolous studies for early and mid-1800s female students, academic standards “rose consistently in female seminaries and academies (i.e. 19 percent offered algebra in the 1820s; 67 percent offered it in the 1830s). Her tables record a surprising 92 percent of New England female schools offering geometry in the 1830s.”⁸⁵

Towards the end of this excellent study, Nash explains why the late 19th century did breed a backlash against women’s education. In 1873 Harvard’s Medical School professor Dr. Edward Clarke published *Sex in Education*, which stated that studying misdirected blood flow away from the “female apparatus” to the brain, possibly causing fertility problems and numerous ailments. The suffragette movement often linked education with suffrage, and the economic depressions of the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s and the resultant male unemployment and labor strikes all fueled hostility against women taking more of a place outside the home. After all, Nash says 11,000 women were in seminaries or colleges in 1870; by 1880 that number jumped to 40,000 and increased to 85,000 by 1900. During the very “strenuous life” movement promoted by Theodore Roosevelt, including the rise of male clubs and organizations, Nash believes males feared the “masculinization” of women.⁸⁶

Eleanor Wolf Thompson's 1947 study *Education for Ladies 1830-1860: Ideas on Education in Magazines for Women* is an excellent review of the editorials and articles about women's education by both editors and educators, written fifteen years before Mittleberger's birth (1845) through Mittleberger's mid-teens. Overall, Thompson found great frustration with the status of teaching in the early 1800s magazines, saying it had been the "custom to hire as teachers men, who had been unsuccessful in other fields of endeavor, or recent graduates or students of the academies or colleges, who tarried a year or two in the class-room before entering upon more lucrative work." Though Horace Mann's first normal school came about in Lexington, Massachusetts, July 3, 1839, Thompson found only 13 publicly supported normal schools in the United States. Thompson gave much attention to the writings of Mrs. Sarah Hale who wrote for many of the leading women's magazines of the day (*The Ladies Magazine*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, *The Lily*). Hale promoted the endowment of normal schools by "benevolent ladies of cultivated minds, and possessing means, who desire to do good beyond the immediate circle of the female, yet shrink from publicity..." Hale waged a long campaign for federal support of free normal schools for the training of women teachers, believing women were better at the teaching of young children. Hale served as Editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* 1830-1898.⁸⁷

Thompson's study is filled with examples of the thinking of the times about women's education; these magazines had a mainstream, but cultured audience. It helps also to understand how Mittleberger turned to teaching—according to Thompson, teaching was a desirable employment, and teachers were looked on as somewhat heroic. There was a great movement to send teachers west, a lackluster performance by many

male teachers, and the need for trained teachers (normal schools) was evident even more so at the conclusion of the Civil War.⁸⁸

Jane Hunter's *When Young Ladies Became Girls* (2004) tracks east coast middle class school girls in private diaries and school journalism, and serves somewhat as a model for this paper on mid-western urban Victorian elite and upper-middle class school girls and their journalism. Hunter's book defines the late Victorian and turn-of-the-century period whereby adolescent girls were "suspended" in a time of play and social intercourse which virtually shielded them from the rigid societal structure of "womanhood." But, from age thirteen to eighteen or nineteen, adolescent girls, who outnumbered the boys in public schools, were encapsulated in schoolgirl culture—all the more so in private or boarding schools. Hunter's book revealed how schooling empowered girls, often giving them roles of leadership, merit awards, relationships beyond the chaperoned world of families at home, and access to public streets. Hunter's study covers the roles of girls as daughters and family members, writers, readers, friends, competitors, high school girls, graduates, and girls in transition to womanhood in ten chapters based on the diaries of northeast middleclass girls of that era. Hunter also joins Nash in breaking many of the grim stereotypes about suppressed nineteenth-century girls. It is refreshing to see more exhaustive research on these girls.

Reprinted in its exact 1874 form, *The Education of American Girls*, edited by Anna C. Brackett contains a series of essays published the year before Mittleberger's father died, not long before she would have had to expand her tutoring to take care of herself and her mother. Brackett ran a New York private school for girls and it is her essay of the same title of the collection that leads off the 13 essays in this 392 page

reproduction. Brackett felt strongly that girls should be taught within a culture of three concerns: the culture of the body, the culture of the intellect, and the culture of the will. She wrote specifically about diet, exercise, and sex education, the latter which Brackett firmly stated should be a subject in the hands of the mothers. She was quite critical of young girls sitting and sewing days on end, referring to that as “insanity.” Clearly Brackett was a bit of a progressive. She disagreed with the “hodge-podge” of bits of information about the education of American girls, and was very critical of parents exploiting growing children for the amusement or interest of the parents or visitors. She favored age-graded schools, innovative teachers, and individualized instruction, and felt teachers led children from chaos, and should look to reach the intelligence in a child. As a private school educator, she was outspoken, and pointed in her position that “education was not a science, but an art.”⁸⁹

We have profiled the American Victorian period in terms of cultural history, reviewed nineteenth-century education history, women’s history, and women’s education history to better understand the context of the broader society in which Augusta Mittleberger was raised and under which she taught. Now let us follow her through Cleveland and its rise to an industrial giant, working our way to her expansion of her 1877 private girls’ school.

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1. Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915*. (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), xiii.
 2. Ibid. 287-290.
 3. Thomas Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 15-17.
 4. Ibid. 16-17. See John Hay, *The Breadwinners: A Social Study*. (Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press Inc., 1967. First published in 1883 by Harper & Brothers); Josiah Flint, *Tramping with Tramps* (1899); and Jack London, *The Road* (1907) for tramp culture.
 5. Ibid, 16-17. The 1862 Homestead Act granted 160 acres to a man willing to head west; after six months he could then buy the land for \$25 an acre and after five years the homesteader could just have the land.⁵ Indian conflicts lasting from 1865-1913 in the West made homesteading a daunting undertaking, imperialistic or not. Between 1870 and 1900, 2.5 million native born moved to the west, while foreigners continued to arrive. A higher number of the latter also moved west beginning in 1890. The average nineteenth-century adult westerner moved four to five times; such internal moves included those involved in the Oklahoma Land Rush, 1889-1893, the Klondike Gold Rush, 1897, the rush to Oregon's Christmas Valley in 1902, and California's real estate boom, 1900-1915; Janet Thomas Greenwood, *The Gilded Age: A History in Documents*. (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 76.
 6. Elbert Jay Benton, *Cultural Story of an American City, Part III*. (Cleveland 15, Ohio: The Calvert-Hatch Company, 1946, Western Reserve Historical Society) 7-8.
 7. Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 287-288.
 8. Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 154-189, Chapter Eight. It was the establishment of Aid to Dependent Children, as part of the Social Security Act of 1935, which began an era of group homes or treatment facilities leading to residential care facilities—different names, better services. Other new ideas in the mid-nineteenth century included formalizing adoption laws. Massachusetts passed the first modern adoption law which required judges to investigate whether parents were fit to raise a child. The orphan trains, mentioned earlier, sent 200,000, mostly slum children westward in railroad cars to live and work with farmers between 1853 and 1929.
 9. Ibid, 170.
 10. Ibid, 155.
 11. Ibid, 185-186.

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12. Ibid, 40.
 13. Ibid, 57.
 14. Ibid, 55.
 15. John Hay, *The Breadwinners: A Social Study*.
 16. Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 24.
 17. Ibid. 46.
 18. Greenwood, *The Gilded Age* 20-22.
 19. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*. (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1944). 10-11. Originally published by University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1955.
 20. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 57, 213, 176-263, 135-139. Gould, Harvard biologist, published *The Mismeasure of Man* in 1981, revising it in 1996. Meant to unmask and debunk the theories and practices of biological determinism (the notion that intelligence is inherited) and prove that all such theorists and scientists worked out of social prejudice, the book is an eye opener as to the lengths late nineteenth-century scientists went to prove a ranking of ethno-social groups. Gould's book has also been criticized for not admitting his own bias towards biological determinism in his "trashing" of earlier scientists such as Louis Agassiz, Samuel George Morton, Paul Broca, and others. Scientists were attempting to use cranial capacity to explain that races, and sexes, were less or more intelligent than others (i.e. women had smaller cranial capacity, therefore smaller brains, and therefore were intellectually inferior to men); that multiple and independent intelligences could be determined by "reading" cranial bumps (phrenology, though not covered in Gould's book), that class boundaries were determined by innate intelligence, and that anatomical measurements could prove intelligence or lack thereof, and, most broadly, that intelligence was inherited and probably unalterable.
 21. Ibid., 137. In Gould, cited from Gustave LeBon, *Recherches anatomiques et mathématiques sur les lois des variations du volume du cerveau et sur leurs relations avec l'intelligence*. *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 2nd series, vol.2, 27-104.
 22. Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* Chapter Five "Agassiz", (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001) 97-116.
 23. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 81, 74-101, 146.

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24. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, James' interest in anthropology is written within Menand's account of Agazziz's work, 117-148; Dewey's work is profiled in three chapters, 285-333; 359. James and Dewey correspond about The Chicago School, and pragmatism.
25. Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 52. In Baltzell, 99.
26. Ibid. 69. In Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (New Haven & New London: Yale University Press, 1964), 101.
27. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, 44; Baltzell, 103.
28. Ibid, 160-162.
29. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994), 43-62.
30. Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1934, 1962); H. Wayne Morgan, "The Gilded Age: The First Generation of Historians" (San Francisco, April 18, 1997 SHGAPE Distinguished Historian Paper), <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~shgape/morgan.html>.
31. Schlereth, xiv-xv; 15-22. Originally published New York: MacMillan, 1899).
32. Ibid, xiv.
33. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1-22.
34. Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973).
35. Ibid. 9-43.
36. Ibid.; See Nathaniel R. Howard, *The First Hundred Years: A History of the Union Club of Cleveland* (Cleveland: The Union Club Company, 1972); *The Union Club of Cleveland, 1975: Officers, Members, Code of Regulations, House Rules* (Cleveland, Ohio: Union Club of Cleveland, 1975); The Union Club was an elite club for Cleveland businessmen which first quartered in the Truman Handy mansion, and later built stately quarters adjacent to that lot at the corner of 12th and Euclid Avenue, where it still resides. John Hay, *The Breadwinners: A Social Study* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883. Republished Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press, Inc., 1967). Though fictional and written anonymously by Hay, the novel profiles 1870's Euclid Avenue and its trouble with labor riots; it is a saccharin view of the wealthy fictional Arthur Farnsworth; Hay

was the real-life son-in-law of Cleveland Amasa Stone, one of the Avenue's early residents. Married to Clara Stone, Hay was then brother-in-law to Flora Stone Mather, who, with her husband Samuel Mather, donated millions to Western Reserve University; *Cleveland Women's Groups: An Amazing Story; a legacy project of Women Celebrating the Bicentennial* (Cleveland, Ohio: History Associates, 1996); see the *Cleveland Blue Book(s)* originally appeared in 1880 as the *Cleveland Social Directory*, published by Mrs. M. B. Haven. Helen DeKay Townsend purchased the copyright in 1900—she was the society writer for the *Cleveland Leader* and later the *Cleveland Town Topics*.

37. Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953)

38. Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy: A Political History of the American Rich* (New York: Broadway Books, 2002. 39; 51 for “muckrakers” Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and Upton Sinclair; David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 190-191.

39. Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy: A Political History of the American Rich* , 52-53.

40. John Steele Gordon, *An Empire of Wealth: The Epic History of American Economic Power* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004). Gordon offers an excellent essay at the end of his book, recommending books on business history,—Ron Chernow's *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller* (1998), Matthew Josephson's *The Robber Barons* (1934), David Nasaw's *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (2000), and others.

41. Ibid. Chapter Fourteen: “A Cross of Gold”, 264-282. Other works on the Gilded Age included American Heritage's *The Nineties* (1967), *The Victorian Scene: 1837-1901* (Bentley, 1968), *The Gilded Age: A History in Documents* (Greenwood, 2000), and *The American Girls Handy Book* (Beard and Beard, 1887).

42. Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987) 1-7.

43. Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2002), “A School for Every Purpose: An Introduction to the History of Academies in the United States”, Kim Tolley and Nancy Beadie, 3-16.

44. Beadie and Tolley, *Chartered Schools*. 6- 8. Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 66.

45. Ibid. Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, “Legacies of the Academy”, 333.

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47. Ibid. Christine A. Ogren. "Betrothed to the State: Nineteenth-Century Academies Confront the Rise of the State Normal Schools", 284.
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61. David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), 55.
62. Ibid.

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64. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education*, 65, 73, 85-87.
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67. Ibid. "Introduction."
68. Ibid., 17.
69. Mary P. Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writing About Domesticity, 1830-1860* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1982, reprint, New York: Harrington Park Press), 33.
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73. Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary*. (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) 204; Coppons, *What Women Did*, 229
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75. Ibid, xv.
76. Ibid.
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78. Ibid., 266-267.
79. Sue Heinemann, *Timelines of American Women's History* (New York: Roundtable Press Book, 1996) 167-169.
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83. Heinemann, *Timelines of American Women's History*, 174.
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CHAPTER III

THE MITTLEBERGERS AMID THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL CLEVELAND

William Mittleberger of the 1800s was a perfect example of how a successful Canadian immigrant arrived and moved his way through Cleveland's middle class, not just in terms of acculturation and accumulation of economic wealth, but the actual physical move from street to street to enter into, and take residence within the "corridor" of wealth and power on Euclid Avenue. Furthermore, his family represented many of the typical aspects of the American pre-and-post Civil War era and the American Victorian period through Augusta's death in 1915 in the Progressive Era. The family was immigrant, pro-business and industrial, Protestant, very much a part of the movement for benevolence and reform, pro-education, and desirous of upward social mobility.

His daughter Augusta contributed to the movement to prepare young middle class and upper class women for college and career opportunities. She founded the Miss Mittleberger School for Girls. The school began with small classes in her home after her father's death in 1875, and she settled into larger quarters from 1877-1880 in the Leek Block on Prospect Avenue. In 1880 she would rent a large mansion at 1020 Prospect and

Case Avenue (40th Street), expanding it over the years to hold some 225 students until the closing of the school at her retirement in 1908. Augusta Mittleberger devoted the remaining seven years of her life to the kindergarten she founded, charitable works, and a position on the Western Reserve Advisory Council. This chapter will trace the Mittleberger family within its Cleveland context to 1875.

William Mittleberger was born in Montreal, Canada in 1803, and at age 15 began serving a seven-year apprenticeship as a bookkeeper with the North West Fur Company, a competitor of the Hudson Bay Company. His work took him all over the hunting grounds of British America until he returned to Montreal in 1825, accepting a contract to build a portion of the Rideau Canal and later, the Welland Canal near Oneida County in New York. He arrived midway (1840) in what was called Cleveland's "canal period" (1830-1850) at age 37, before the advent of Cleveland's railroads.¹ Because of his canal experiences, he well knew the opportunity for commercial trade when the Ohio Canal opened Cleveland to the Ohio interior in 1827—the canal period was a crucial mercantile development for the city. In its early years from its founding in 1796 through the 1820s Cleveland had struggled with unhealthy conditions from swampy areas, its remoteness and lack of access roads, fear of British ships during the 1812 war, and what might even be called its lack of purpose. Though it was surveyed in 1796 similar to a New England village, the few who came and stayed (only 150 people and 34 houses, mostly log, by 1820) had barely cleared the stumps of what was essentially a two-street town (Superior and Water), surrounded by forest and standing oak posts marking the 222 lots laid out in the original survey. Cleveland proper actually sat on a plateau bordered east and west by rivers and valleys, not easily accessible until the canal and railroads linked the town to

the water. Cleveland remained a pioneer settlement until the 1815-1830 period when stage roads (i.e. Pittsburgh and Buffalo Roads) connected Cleveland to trade route populations. Better tools, construction of bridges, the first steamboat in 1818, the clearing of sandbars and debris from the Cuyahoga River in 1825, and the opening of the Ohio Canal to its Cleveland terminus in 1827—all expanded the “village” and drew the interest of wholesalers, building trades, small retailers, lawyers, bankers, real estate speculators and developers. Mittleberger joined his brother Charles to become a well-liked, successful coal and produce merchant who would in the late 1860s be named to the Cleveland Board of Trade.²

Searching the Cleveland directories of the time (independently published) one can trace William Mittleberger through a series of work addresses close to the Cuyahoga River. Elijah Peet published his first Cleveland directory in 1845, and lists Mittleberger’s workplace as 88 and 85 Merwin Street from 1845-1847, and his residence as “3 Erie Street South” those three years. He was referred to as a “commercial merchant.” Both his advertising and his directory listings for years referred to his business address as “Stockly’s Pier,” which was built by John Galt Stockly, a well-known coal merchant, and former Philadelphia shipyard owner from an old Virginia family, who had come to Cleveland in 1838 by way of two years in Canada. He also had worked on the Canadian Welland Canal, and may well have known Mittleberger beforehand.³

There was a “Mittleberger Warehouse” on Superior about where the Huntington and Fifth Third Bank parking garages stand today, and diagonally south of where the Cleveland Public Library is located near West 6th. Old City Hall and public office buildings occupied that space across from the Mittleberger Warehouse in those early

days. Henry and Charles Mittleberger, and William, associated with that warehouse, are mentioned in advertisements and editorials in the 1840s and 1850s. Charles and wife Julia are buried in the Mittleberger plot in Lakeview Cemetery—their bodies, and the bodies of Augusta’s younger brothers who died young, and her father William were all moved from Woodland Cemetery when Augusta buried her mother in 1882 and reinterred the whole family in Lakeview Cemetery in 1883.⁴

Though Mittleberger is listed as a “coal merchant” in city directories and advertising from 1840, references to William Mittleberger recur in the local papers throughout his years in Cleveland, as he frequently advertised, and spoke his mind on local business issues, some examples of which follow: In a May, 1846 letter to the editor, Mittleberger and Virgil Hillyer warned the people of Cleveland and Buffalo against taking passage on the steamboat *Oregon*, “as passengers cannot rely upon their engagement”. Apparently on a Buffalo to Cleveland trip of only 8-10 passengers, the ship’s officers would not let Mittleberger and Hillyer off the boat at Cleveland, but passed on to Detroit and detained the unhappy travelers for 24 hours. Mittleberger suspected the *Oregon* was trying to make Chicago before another ship, the *Empire*. The issue sparked responses back and forth.⁵ An 1858 notice reads “William Mittleberger, coal agent on Stockly Pier, offers to sell good strip vein coal for \$2.75 per ton.” In 1868, Mittleberger was listed as a member of the Cleveland Board of Trade, a commercially and politically influential entity that would later become the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.⁶

The coal piers lined the east bank of the mouth of the Cuyahoga River; Stockly’s Pier was off Front Street, accessible by Spring and Bank Streets.⁷ The streets of dirt rose

from the river bank up to a public square and beyond to “Erie Street,” roughly what is now 9th Street. The town lay east along the lake as far as what is now the Burke Lakefront Airport area. East of Erie Street business and residences were minimal, following the beginnings of eastward development in the ‘40s and ‘50s. Once across the Cuyahoga River, Ohio City--Cleveland’s early west side--followed Lorain, Detroit, Clifton, and Lake roads west through rural areas. Ohio City, struggling for its status as an independent municipality, after much commercial conflict, was finally annexed by the city of Cleveland in 1854.⁸

The coal trade in mid-1800s Cleveland was a lucrative industry, and it was the business of such prominent Clevelanders as Lemuel Crawford (he took over Stockly’s business at the latter’s death in 1863), and the Hanna family. By 1860 there would be 21 coal dealers in Cleveland.⁹

It appears that Mittleberger profited from practicing “flexible” business strategies, shifting his business interests from coal to produce as the Cleveland market fluctuated. Mittleberger’s business title changes over the years. The directories revealed, while he was a “forwarding and commercial merchant” when moving to 83 St. Claire Street, 1848-49, and again the same in 1850-51 living at 188 Superior Street, he is listed as a “produce dealer,” same home address, 1852-53, and back to “Commission merchant and Coal Broker, Office at Stockly’s Pier”, with the additional “Produce bought and sold on commission” in the 1856-1858 years living at 38, then 34 Euclid.¹⁰ Several other prominent men did likewise. For example a young John D. Rockefeller and partner Maurice B. Clark ran a consignment firm dealing in grain, meat, and produce, and when the Civil War meant the market for commodities for government use, the two profited,

from \$4,000 in 1860, to \$17,000 by the end of 1861.¹¹ This common business interest may have also added to the friendly relationship between the Mittleberger and Rockefeller families.¹²

Thus, we have a successful immigrant, boarding as a single man in a burgeoning mercantile lakeside town until his marriage into two prominent families with New England histories. The Beebe family and the Hoyt families had joined marriages before; for our purposes, it is enough to know that Augusta Beebe, formerly of Oneida, New York, was the sister of Mary Ella Beebe Hoyt, wife of the very prominent Clevelander, James Madison Hoyt, a trusted lawyer who built his law practice, and then began to purchase several tracts of land east of 9th Street, becoming a prominent Cleveland realtor and developer—and there lies the beginning of the socially connected advantages for the Mittleberger family, something beyond William’s business acumen and success or his wife’s future activism.

The 1870s’ Hoyt Building still stands in the West 9th Street area, just one long-lasting vestige of the Hoyt prominence in Cleveland. Because Hoyt had such an impact on Augusta Mittleberger’s ability to later create and connect her school with the prominent of Cleveland, let us profile her famous uncle. James Madison Hoyt, son of David P. and Mary Hoyt, was eighth generation, born December 5, 1812 in Utica, New York.¹³ He graduated from Hamilton College in 1834, and left for Cleveland in 1836, having married Mary Ella Beebe that same year. He read law with Andrews and Foot for one year and then partnered with them for 12 years. However, Hoyt saw the advantage to buying and selling properties in a burgeoning “frontier” city, and withdrew from the practice of law to devote his affairs to real estate in 1853. At one time he owned or co-

owned nearly 1,000 acres. According to David W. Hoyt's 1871 family history, Hoyt sold 3,000 lots in Cleveland, "personally, or in connection with others interested with him, opened and named no less than 76 streets" between 1850 and 1870.¹⁴

Hoyt, Augusta's uncle, was a perfect example of the Protestant work ethic—a mixture of honest business practices and religious devotion. Like John D. Rockefeller, who came to Cleveland in 1853 to attend Central High School, and was a 26-year Sunday school superintendent for the Erie Street Baptist Church (later Euclid Avenue Baptist Church), Hoyt served as a Sunday school superintendent for the First Baptist Church. In 1854 Hoyt became President of the Ohio Baptist State Convention, and served as President of the American Baptist Home Mission Society from 1866 to 1870. Hoyt was licensed by the Church as a preacher, but never ordained a minister; thus he spoke often at church and civic events as a "God-fearing" businessman—addresses rather than sermons. As President of the Cleveland Bible Society for eight years, Hoyt's prominence and reputation for honesty in his business earned him election to the State Board of Equalization, which handled the "appraisement of all the property in the State going through the hands of the board sitting as a court of the highest resort."¹⁵

Hoyt would be more than a family presence (brother-in-law and uncle) to the Mittlebergers; as we will see, he will be part of Augusta Beebe Mittleberger's activism, a trustee connected to the private schools her daughter would attend, and his First Baptist Church would be the center of his niece's Mittleberger School events. His daughter, Lydia would attend school with his niece.

The Mittleberger's first child was Augusta, named after her mother, and born on September 13, 1845. The family lived at the 3 Erie Street address. In that year,

Cleveland had grown to a population of 9, 573, of whom 6, 780 had been born in the United States.¹⁶ The makeup of the population published for 1846-1847 (10, 135 for 1846) was as follows: German (1472); English (808); Irish (632); Canadas (144); Isle of Man (97); Scotland (96); Wales (26); France (18); Sweden (12); Poland (6); New Brunswick (10); born at sea (2); and unknown (30).¹⁷

In 1845 Mordecai Bentley was Ohio's Governor, Samuel Starkweather was Cleveland's mayor, Huron Beebe was Sheriff, James Buchanan was the nation's Secretary of State, and Republican James Polk was the President of the United States. As young "Gussie" came into the world, Cleveland's large industries, coal, shipping, and railroads were thriving. Five years after her father arrived from Canada, the mercantile presence was growing, and progressive. John Shelly, merchant tailor, located under the Franklin House, offered linens, gloves, cravats, shirt collars and suspenders for the well-dressed Cleveland businessman, and silk purses for the ladies. Isaac B. Simmons' store at No. 12 Superior and No. 2 Union Lane offered ready-made clothing—the availability of which changed the lives of women nationwide, both in terms of reducing domestic chores and creating factory and sales opportunities.¹⁸ Cleveland, after all, was a major center in the creation of the sewing machine.¹⁹

All sorts of goods were offered, primarily along the shops of Superior including Webster & Company's New Boston Shoe Store at No. 120, just down from E. Wall's Boot & Shoe Manufacturer at No. 98, and Jehu Brainard's engraving business at No. 75 next to Handerson & Dunson's Drug Store. Grocers (Watson's, and J. Raymond's sat at No. 81 and 91 respectively, and dry goods were found at 45 Division Street at S. R. Hutchinson's City Mills Store "at the New Bridge.") Other goods and services shops had

spilled down other side streets like Division, particularly as Cleveland serviced various trades—saddles, harnesses, trunks, and valises were sold at Goodwin & Lyon Saddlers at Merwin Square near the river; Warner & Witherall, “Master Builders offered carpentry and mason services, and port services such as H. & H. Nott offered sailcloth, sails, awnings, flags, oars, spars, blocks, and pumps nearer the river.”²⁰

But this bustling small city had its bookstores (Sanford & Haywards), its fine “tobacco, cigars, snuff, foreign liquors and wines” at No. 20 Superior and its hats, caps, and furs at G. B. Scribners & Co. (No. 19 Superior). There were also the products that reflected both the practical, the class conscious, and the medical “miracles” of the nation. So while the furniture makers opened for practical needs, Clevelanders could also find fine tapestries and carpets. The advertising of the time also reflected the medical quackery of the times, such as “Wistar’s Balsam of Wild Cherry,” sold at Sanford & Hayward’s store for “Consumption of the lungs, liver complaints, coughs, asthma, flu, breathing difficulties, pains in the side or breast,” along with a disclosure about how much time it might take for a cure.²¹

Though it is obvious that Cleveland had reached a level of sophistication reflected in its shops, much of the business begun in Cleveland came about as logical in filling the needs of Cleveland, such as the shipping industry. Thus arose H. & H. Nott offering sails, awnings, flags, and other river shops which sold block, pumps, and spars. As the city grew, someone answered a need. One of the most successful business leaders was George Worthington, whose first hardware store was on the corner of Superior and Union Lane in 1834. He understood the impact of the Ohio Canal and made sure, since workers had to have shovels, that he would be Cleveland’s premier supplier of such and other

construction tools.²² Specific owners and entrepreneurs are mentioned here, as many of these family names were among the Mittleberger School rosters in a distant 50-60 years.

If one stood on Superior Street of 1845, about where you would now stand on the north side of Public Square, there would be a cacophony of sound coming from the Merwin Street, Cuyahoga River area, the unloading of ore and produce, the liveries, the canal boats, the horses and carriages in the dirt or wooden-planked streets, the endless sound of construction hammers, voices hawking, numerous church bells, and a glimpse of mostly forest beyond what would now be 12th Street. The log cabin days were over.

However, one statistic alone explains the town unto which young Augusta Mittleberger was born. Of the 93,367 people who steamed or propelled up and down the Great Lakes from April 10 to November 25 in 1845, 14,895 of them landed at Cleveland doing commerce, finding work, or visiting what might become their new home. Working seamen were registered (638); Cleveland had 2,136 ship arrivals that year, 927 of which were steamers. By way of comparison, Buffalo had 2606 arrivals the same year.²³ This issue alone meant the growth of boarding houses (19 listed that year) and smaller hotels, and the proliferation of saloons—a problem that created the need for temperance reform, and the eventual involvement of Augusta’s Episcopalian mother, Augusta Mittleberger. As regards the saloons it should be understood that with shipping as a major trade, Cleveland was enclosed by ice in the wintry months, and the nautical and canal business of the town virtually shut down, until the proliferation of the railroads opened up the possibilities for commerce in the 1850s. The consequent unemployment explains the rise in the “entertainments” of the day, much of which already existed to serve the warm weather sailors and visitors. The problem would plague Cleveland, which would become

the center for the Ohio temperance movement. Indeed, as late as 1877 the Cleveland City Directory would list seven-and-a-half pages of “saloons.”²⁴

The Mittleberger family would have been witness to the beginning construction of the Weddell House at Superior and Bank that year. This hotel would be finished in 1847 and serve the well-heeled who came to Cleveland in all weather by ship or by railroad mid-century.²⁵

The town was decidedly Protestant, and very much an extension of New Englanders and Middle Atlantic origins, many with abolitionist leanings. Education was a priority, though early Cleveland schools, as mentioned in Chapter 2 were private in nature, in terms of finance. Peet’s Business Directory listed 13 “public” schools in 1845, serving 1500 children. The average daily school attendance at each was 72, and faculty members numbered four males and 13 female teachers. Male students were charged \$10, and females \$4-\$5. The city’s school budget was \$5,600, of which \$1,000 was allocated for school houses, under Mayor George Hoadley. Cleveland would create its first high school, Cleveland Central High School in 1846, later a strong competitor for Mittleberger School’s upper grades as we shall see in Chapter IV.²⁶

William Mittleberger appears to have been totally devoted to business. City directories in the nineteenth-century listed organizations, clubs, churches, associations, committees, and civic offices, naming officers and chairmen, and appointed and elected government officials. Other than his position on the aforementioned Board of Trade, Mittleberger’s name does not appear among these directory listings over the years; nor is there any particular attention paid to him in the Episcopal and First Baptist churches his family attended. However, obituaries spoke of him as well-known and well-liked.

Records showed that he lost his sons Alexander and William at young ages; all three of the remaining family, William, Augusta, and daughter Augusta suffered from recurring illness. The father struggled with “Bright’s” disease (kidney problems eventually took his life in his seventies), an affliction that appears often in the newspaper mortuary reports of the 1870s. Bright’s disease also took the life of Thomas Sterling Beckwith only two years after he bought the mansion later known as The University Club (now Chancellor University) on Euclid Avenue. That house, still standing, was visible from the Mittleberger School for many years, and Mittleberger knew him through Beckwith’s partner, and Mittleberger’s Superior Avenue neighbor, Fred Sterling. Mittlebergers knew Rockefellers, Rockefellers lived across the street from Beckwith, Hoyt lived nearby, the Sterlings were Mittlebergers’ neighbors on Superior, etc. Suffice it to say that Mittleberger and his family had elite connections on all levels, mainly in business, and as neighbors in several locations as the Mittlebergers relocated, and the city grew.²⁷ By virtue of daughter Augusta’s will, written in 1908, we know that she left some of her most cherished personal effects to the daughters of Sherlock J. Andrews, one of Cleveland’s earliest and most successful lawyers, and father of 11 children, of whom five survived to adulthood. Andrews, also an Ohio Supreme Court Justice, lived at 39 Euclid Avenue, the house having been built in 1833-35. George A. Benedict lived at 35 Euclid, and William Mittleberger was listed at 38 Euclid in the city directory for 1856-58, and 34 Euclid in the 1859-60 directory.²⁸

In an informal sketch of very early Euclid Avenue, one can see the homes of Rufus Winslow (#2) on the corner of Euclid and Public Square, Prentiss Dow (#25), Judge Griswold (58) Judge Samuel Cowles and others, on the south side, Benedict (#35),

Andrews (#39), and others, on the north side. The lots where #34 and #38 (possibly the same building) are bare in this sketch, but would have been constructed across the street from Andrews, as “even numbers.”²⁹ This was the beginning of Euclid as an elite street. However, though the homes were quite well-to-do, Euclid was often ridiculed as “the frog pond,” as it was frequently a mass of large puddles due to extremely poor street conditions for most of the 1840s and early 1850s.³⁰ It was actually Superior Avenue, with its better planked and drained street that seemed more amenable to such prosperous citizens as Fred A. Sterling, Philo Chamberlain, and Henry Raymond.³¹ In the years before the Mittlebergers lived on Euclid, they resided at 188 Superior from at least 1850 through 1853 according to city directories. Two of the popular directories did not publish 1854-55 directories, but there was no obvious evidence that the family had another address before the 1856 listing on Euclid, unless, of course, they made that move earlier in 1854-55.³²

These elites impacted the growth of the city, the schools, and certainly the political aspects. As discussed in Chapter Two, Protestant churches espoused that the wealthy practice public/civic service, benevolence, and church participation. Michael J. McTighe, stressed that Protestants had a role in the formation of Cleveland’s public culture and what he called the “interlocking elite.” He reported in *A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland* (1994)³³ that Cleveland’s Protestant ministers, churches, and church members were “intimately involved” in aspects of education, acting either within the educational system or as a function of an elite network of Protestant businessmen, church leaders, politicians, school officials, and benefactors of schools. In fact, McTighe used the term “embedded” to describe the

integration of Protestant elites into Cleveland's public culture.³⁴ There were some who functioned on all levels—i.e. businessmen who sat on government bodies, gave their money to churches and schools, sat on boards of trustees, and made sure that most civic ceremonies utilized the services of Protestant ministers.³⁵ A perfect example was Mittleberger's brother-in-law James Hoyt, profiled earlier. Mr. Hoyt, while not ordained, was famous as a speaker, and spoke from the First Baptist Church steps for many public ceremonies such as the Fourth of July Parade. He sat on the Board of Trustees for both the Cleveland Academy (Huron at Euclid) and the Cleveland Female Seminary (Kinsman Avenue), made countless dinner speeches, and was involved in many of the causes for private education and public benevolence.³⁶ A review of Cleveland nineteenth-century school records proves many of those who served on school boards, as school examination visitors, etc. were prosperous and prominent Clevelanders.³⁷ Church records also reveal that several of the already mentioned wealthy men served as Sunday School Superintendents. T. S. Beckwith was another example (Bethel Union).³⁸

McTighe's study shows that heads of households of Protestant church joiners were likely to own property (67.8 percent) and owned more of it. Church joiner figures in the 1850 Census show 41.4 percent in the professional occupations compared to 9.5 percent in the general population. Protestant male church joiners were highly represented in the "urban interconnected elite" as officers or leaders in city organizations, 1836-1860. The pattern, then, that bolstered Protestant elite power in antebellum Cleveland included property-holding, employment, and civic involvement.³⁹

Men held power as ministers, trustees and other church officials, but high female Protestant church membership meant that women could also exert power and influence

through a “socially sanctioned arena,” the church. Thus, women took up moral reform and benevolent work, moving into influential positions in the community. From 1816-1860, 60 percent of Protestant membership was female. From 1836-1860, joiners were 66.9 percent female. This propensity and logical outlet for female “work” would mean, however, that Protestant, informal, quasi-public power of church leaders would weaken in later years when secular organizations took on many civic and benevolent functions for the city’s poor. The volunteer aspect of church work did not translate to power, especially when churches became less financially stable.⁴⁰

Prior to the Civil War, Protestant churches ran themselves somewhat as “businesses.” They borrowed and loaned money, sold pew-rights or rents, lent their spacious basement halls and meeting rooms to public schools, bank trustees, and major civic celebrations. They also paid their highly educated ministers handsomely, and modeled elitism within the church with pew-rent.⁴¹

Linked both directly and indirectly with the business, political and educational Cleveland elite, the clergy and church members were given supervision of school dedications, commencements, and end-of-the-year examinations. One of the early Cleveland schools was actually in the basement of the Bethel Church; one-third of the “visitors” chosen by the school board to evaluate schools were ministers. This practice was extended to private schools—the loan of rooms and the supervision of ceremonies, for example, continued well into the late 1800s. Miss Mittleberger’s School would yearly hold its commencement at First Baptist Church (her uncle’s church), and several of its ceremonies at St. Paul’s Episcopal on Euclid and Case Avenues (her mother’s church).⁴²

In addition, understanding the limited access to books and magazines in Antebellum Cleveland, there was a major Protestant intellectual presence through lectures and entertainments offered by these (and visiting) highly educated ministers. It also fell to the churches to explain to others how new sciences and commercial progressiveness could be reconciled with Christian ideology.⁴³

It was apparent, even in 1845, that there was concern over the burgeoning elites and the resultant materialism in Cleveland. In an introduction to Elijah Peet's first *General Business Directory of the City of Cleveland & Ohio (City) for 1845-6*, W. Smead of the Citizens' Bank of Cincinnati warned against the acquisition of wealth: "Men fail of fortune in this world, as they fail of happiness in the world to come; simply because they are unwilling to deny themselves momentary enjoyments for the sake of permanent future happiness." Here, certainly, was an example of Protestant culture infused with a Christian message from a successful banker, published for all to see in a city that obviously strove for the trappings of success early on.⁴⁴

The Mittleberger family, closely knit as elite Protestant churchgoers, moved through this milieu, and while the father seemed entrenched in his business (he would have traveled a lot)⁴⁵ and not overly involved with civic duties, his wife Augusta was famous for her involvement, and heavily praised in Ingram's book, *Women at Work*. Mrs. Mittleberger was an active member of The Martha Washington Dorcas Society, headed projects for the poor, and later was one of the leading fundraisers for the building of the Protestant Orphans Asylum—her report was read in City Council by James Hoyt on her behalf. She actively marched in large temperance crowds, and collected signatures from men who pledged sobriety as these women entered the drinking

establishments along the river front. She lived her later years after 1875 with her daughter until her death in 1882 at the expanded school on Prospect.⁴⁶

Young Augusta would have been school-age, seven, in 1852. The public schools were under way, but “Gussie” was privileged by class, family, connections, finances, and her parents’ reputations. There were several schools open that year, evidenced by city directories and advertising. “Miss Hayden’s Seminary, assisted by her sister” was at 58 Erie Street. Subjects offered included English, French, and “moral cores.” “Miss Stoddard’s School” was located “rear,” at 9 Ontario Street, providing “lessons of instruction in morals as well as in learning, which will prove of vast importance to them through life.” “The Young Ladies Institute” was located at No. 42 Euclid Street, per an 1852-1853 listing, under the directorship of Mrs. E. Hosmer, principal. Her annual circular offered “natural sciences” to 109 pupils. Hosmer would later join the administration/faculty of the Cleveland Female Seminary (CFS). “Miss Fitch’s School” was also listed that year, “on Huron near intersection with Euclid.”⁴⁷

All of these schools, including many private boys schools, were short-lived (except CFS), as they disappeared from the city directories. Some simply failed for lack of clients, and some closed as the directress/director moved on to other schools. However, educator Linda Thayer Guilford would have the most and longest influence on the young Mittleberger. “Miss Thayer’s Female Seminary, No. 127 Prospect Street. English ‘branches and French” appears in the 1852-53 city directory--the citation also reads “The Cleveland Female Academy, Principal Linda T. Guilford, 4 teachers, ‘liberally patronized.”⁴⁸

Guilford, born in Lanesboro, Massachusetts in 1823, had been working in a paper mill when friends arranged for her to attend Mt. Holyoke Seminary, under the direction of nationally famous Mary Lyon. Guilford came to Cleveland after graduating in 1847. She was principal of the new Young Ladies Seminary from 1848-1850, but it failed for lack of funds. She then became principal of the first Female Academy, 1851-1854, serving over 200 students, at \$20 per quarter, at the corner of Prospect and Ontario. “Gussie” Mittleberger appears on her roster, and apparently continued her early schooling there, as Guilford left to accept the position of assistant principal at the Cleveland Female Seminary from 1854-1860. For whatever reasons, Guilford then spent fourteen months abroad. Gussie Mittleberger went on to attend the Cleveland Female Seminary, graduating in 1863. It being a four-year program, Mittleberger would likely have begun her years at CFS in the fall of 1859. It is possible that young Mittleberger had only a term or two under Guilford’s leadership (as assistant principal) before Guilford left CFS and went abroad. Returning in 1861, Guilford opened a day-school, what she called her “second school at ‘the point’,” in the same building where she had taught before her stint at CFS. She even had desks brought back from the Seminary. Guilford’s writing is often unclear in her book *The Story of a Cleveland School*, so it is not clear if she meant her earlier Cleveland Female Academy, sometimes advertised as “Seminary,” or the Kinsman Avenue Cleveland Female Seminary.⁴⁹

The rosters of Guilford’s day school (while Mittleberger would have been attending CFS) included very prominent family names over the 1861-1865 years at that location, including both boys and girls. Guilford had 28 girls shortly after the November 21, 1861 opening, joined later by six boys Guilford found “frolicsome fellows” whose

antics were often disruptive. However, she was quick to point out in regards to some of the boys that: “In the city of Cleveland are no more honored or useful Christian citizens than the first two, and the other has become a marked power in leading young men to a higher life.” Twenty-five boys attended for longer or shorter periods between 1861 and 1865. The school “was crowded” at 60-70 students soon after opening it, as Guilford recalls, and though she named 18 families, it was her decision to rarely name names when it came to individual students, so it is also not possible to know the identity of a not-so-renowned person: “...others have become merchants, lawyers, or men of business; one, a good boy then, grew up to give himself and us a long heartache.”⁵⁰

Guilford’s book revealed also the sadness of the war years as the casualty lists came in; the school made expeditions in the summer of 1864 to the sick and wounded at Camp Cleveland, “on the heights,” where convalesced men from the “Western” battlefields: “Many of the school could but share in the general spirit of rash expenditure and luxurious display which pervaded the community, and these hospital visits were a sober corrective.”⁵¹

Most notable in her memories was watching, “with all the city” the slow progress of the band and funeral car “that held the murdered Lincoln” down Euclid Avenue, draped in mourning, April, 1865.⁵²

Finally, in 1865, 31 “subscribers,” all prominent men including Stillman Witt, Sylvester Everett, Jeptha Wade, Philo Chamberlain and others contributed \$100, \$500, or \$1,000 dollars to the erection of a “brick academy” incorporated as “The Cleveland Academy” June 23, 1865—the capital stock adding up to \$17,400 (and sold for that at the school’s closing in 1885). The building was built on a lot purchased on the south side of

Huron Street near the intersection with Euclid Avenue, the lot costing \$4,000. The entire project exhausted the subscription funds. The stock company rented the premises for five years to Guilford, “on condition of her paying over to the stockholders one fifth of the gross income of the school.” This condition she accepted and fulfilled. All but three of the owners were parents or guardians of children then, or previously under training in the Academy at the Point.”⁵³

The Cleveland Academy had been Guilford’s dream, but clearly in 1865, just as the new building construction began, she was wishing for, but not convinced of a college preparatory program for girls. Though her day school at the “point” was crowded and turning away applications in both 1864 and 1865, she stated in her memoir her feelings in 1865: “Why could there not be.....a school where boys could be thoroughly fitted for college--where girls could take a course of advanced study and receive a diploma, and at the same time be trained to be Christian women?” However, clearly Central High School was a competitor for the enrollment of both sexes.⁵⁴

With these thoughts in mind, Guilford continued her long history of private schooling, this time at the new brick academy (1866) on Huron; the one constant complaint was the inadequacy of the heating system. Even the installation of a steam furnace was a constant harassment, in that it did not have proper air flow to keep all of the rooms warm. She felt this added only difficulty to the task of drawing new students.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, Gussie Mittleberger had to have completed the four-year “Classical” program at Cleveland Female Seminary, as she taught Latin and History there later (she’s listed on the 1868-69 faculty). As a secondary student she would have followed The Course of Study in the Eighth Annual Catalogue for CFS. This included two terms of

Mental Arithmetic and Written Arithmetic, and one term each of Universal History, United States History, Natural History, Map Drawing, and Familiar Science in the first year; one term each of Arithmetic, Ancient Geography, History of Rome, History of Greece, Anatomy/Physiology/Hygiene (one course), English Grammar, History of England, Rhetoric, and two terms of Algebra in the second year; one term each of Geometry, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Book-Keeping, Science of Government, Astronomy, Philosophy of Rhetoric, Geology, Botany, and Political Economy in the third year; and, finally, in the fourth year: Universal History, Zoology, Mental Philosophy, Trigonometry, Logic, Natural Theology, Moral Science, English Literature, Nineteenth Century, Butler's Analogy, and Evidences of Christianity. In addition, students studied the Bible, had exercises in composition, and "careful attention" to Vocal Music in classes. For Gussie Mittleberger, to go beyond this "English Course" at CFS, she had to take in addition the "Classical Course," which included First Lessons in Latin, Latin Grammar, Latin Reader, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil's Aeneid, Sallust, Cicero's Orations, Livy, Odes of Horace, Greek Grammar, Greek Reader, and Greek Testament. It was not clear if the catalogue listings for the "Classical Course" were full individual courses, or rather readings attached to the fourth-year work; it would seem the latter in order to complete the program in four years.⁵⁶

However, CFS did offer a "Resident Graduate Course," the listings for which appeared to be intense preparation for teaching or college. Day pupils paid \$30 to \$40 a year over four years, plus \$5 to \$30 dollars for any extra or optional courses per term (e.g. \$5 for a small class in Vocal Music per term; \$30 per term for instruction in Piano Music). Most likely Gussie Mittleberger was a day pupil, as her residence was a carriage

or street car ride away from CFS. Tuition for a boarding student was \$200 a year plus “Washing” and extra course or instructions. Mittleberger graduated in 1863, tutored privately, and joined the CFS staff as indicated. She does not appear as a CFS teacher in the catalogues from 1863-1867, but various other sources show her as teaching small numbers of students privately.⁵⁷

In 1874, Augusta Mittleberger joined the faculty at the Cleveland Academy with Guilford . The diaries of Emma Betts Sterling (married to Fred Sterling, the Mittlebergers’ neighbors at 352 Superior), referred to dropping off her children at Gussie Mittleberger’s “school,” and specific advertising in city directories shows her small, private endeavors.⁵⁸

Other new teachers who joined Mittleberger at the Cleveland Academy in 1874 were Miss Mary Andrews and Miss Bertha Keffer. Sarah L. Andrews (Sherlock Andrews’ daughter), Mittleberger’s longtime friend, had joined the faculty the previous term. Guilford seemed very fond of her teachers and spoke highly of them throughout her memoir. She was obviously heartbroken in 1871 when teacher Julia Hopkins, who had taught Botany, English Literature and History in 1861-62 at CFS, and most probably was Augusta’s teacher, was killed in a small steamer explosion on Lake Chautauqua, New York in August of 1871. Guilford, abroad at that time, did not return until January of 1872. She sent a grieving letter home to her staff. In fact, it seems to have drained her energies, for, facing financial difficulties, and competition from the Central High School, she stepped down to vice-principal of the Cleveland Academy, offering the principal position to Mr. E. H. Votaw, a graduate of Amherst, in an attempt to draw boys to her school. When he left to enter the ministry in the spring of 1874, she resumed as

principal.⁵⁹ Earlier in 1872, Guilford had expressed that “None of the girls were desirous of a college course, and the boys were too young to be decided on it.” She had always desired that her school be a college preparatory program, but settled for re-organizing the school into three grades---preparatory, junior, and academic, raising the tuition from sixty to eighty dollars a year, at which it remained.⁶⁰

It was in this school culture that Augusta Mittleberger learned the ins and outs of managing a school, with all its program adjustments, recruiting difficulties, physical plant problems, heartbreak as well as joys, business and social interaction with an elite community—all under the guidance of the woman still referred to as early Cleveland’s most prominent educator. Guilford continued her school until 1881. The Brooks Academy, a quasi-military boys’ school created by prominent men in 1874, the Brooks division for girls on Prospect (later purchased by Anne Hathaway Brown) and, The Miss Mittleberger School for Girls in the Prospect Leek Block (1877-80) and later in 1881 at 1020 Prospect, would prove too much competition. Even with the addition of a kindergarten, The Cleveland Academy was down to 50 students in 1878. In 1879 the Primary Department was closed. In 1881, summer, less than 12 students remained, and “without ceremony,” Guilford retired from the Cleveland Academy. In September of 1881, a Mr. and Mrs. Bridgeman, Miss Andrews assisting, would begin anew, enrolling nearly eighty students in 1883, and continuing until the school building was turned over for other purposes in 1887. Guilford ends her memoir with a quick look back at her long career spanning 1848 to 1881, though she would continue working on educational and temperance projects until her death in 1911. She would be reunited with Augusta Mittleberger in 1896 as a member of the Western Reserve Advisory Council.⁶¹

As the nationwide Recession of 1873 had contributed to Guilford's financial difficulties, it also meant the loss of William Mittleberger's business. The Mittleberger family had been living at 354 Superior, a very fashionable section "below Erie" for some years. William was suffering regularly with kidney disease, his two sons had died, and his wife was ill.⁶²

Augusta's employment at the Cleveland Academy was only for a year. On New Year's Day, early Sunday, January 1, her father passed away of Bright's Disease, according to both morgue and obituary reports. Her mother was so ill she could not attend the funeral. William Mittleberger was laid to rest Monday, January 3, 1875 at Woodland Cemetery.⁶³ Emma Betts Sterling remembers attending the funeral that afternoon. Later that evening, she and husband Fred took a winter walk—there was no sleighing on Euclid Avenue that night. They crossed back over to Superior, and made a short condolence visit to "Gussie" and the ailing Mrs. Mittleberger. Augusta was 30 years old, and now head of the family.⁶⁴

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1. *Cleveland Leader*, William Mittleberger obituary, Monday, January 4, 1875, page 5, volume 28. Another Cleveland paper asked Canadian papers to copy (publish), indicating he may have still had family and friends there.
 2. Edmund H. Chapman, Cleveland: *Village to Metropolis: A Case Study of Problems of Urban Development in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve Historical Society, Reprint 1998, 1964)1-61; *Annual Reports of the Cleveland Board of Trade*, 1868, Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio; James Harrison Kennedy, *A History of the City of Cleveland, 1796-1896* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896)note 261; Chapter XVIII, 486-488. Retrieved online May 10, 2005 <http://www.clevelandmemory.org/ebooks/kennedy/notes.html>.
 3. W. Scott Robison, ed. *History of the City of Cleveland: Its Settlement, Rise and Progress, Illustrated*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Robison & Crockett, The Sunday World, 1887) 508.
 4. *Cleveland Atlas*, 1874, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. Lakeview Cemetery records, Cleveland, Ohio.
 5. *Cleveland Herald*, May 12, 1846, 3/2.
 6. *Cleveland Leader*, Nov. 6, 1858;adv. 3/2; Kennedy history
 7. 1869 Cleveland Directory map, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
 8. David D. VanTassel and John J. Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, Second Edition . (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press in association with Case Western Reserve University and the Western Reserve Historical Society, 1996)755.
 9. *Directory of the City of Cleveland: to which is added a Business Directory For 1859-60*. Cleveland, Ohio: J. H. Williston & Company, Printers and Publishers, No. 20 Atwater Building, junction of Superior and Water Streets.
 10. Snead and Cowles Directory (Microfiche, 375:2); Knight and Parsons' Directory of the City of Cleveland (microfiche)
 11. Van Tassel and Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 191.
 12. Grace Goulder, *John D Rockefeller: The Cleveland Years* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1972). Rockefeller, at the urging of his wife Cetti, would later move a house on his property to Prospect as a rental for establishing Mittleberger's school

13. *Cleaves Biographical Cyclopedia: Cuyahoga County of the State of Ohio—City of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott & Co.; Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co.) 49-50. Gives as January 16, 1815.

14 . Hoyt's partner Sherlock J. Andrews would be early Euclid Avenue neighbor and family friend to Augusta Mittleberger for many years; Hoyt Family geneology, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, 487-488, entry 4807, 570 (ninth generation).

15. Cleaves, p. 49.

16. Peet, 1845-1846, microfiche 372; *Peet's General Business Directory of the City of Cleveland or Ohio (City), for 1845-6*. Cleveland, Ohio: First Year of Publication. By Elijah Peet. Sanford & Hayward, Printers. 1845.

17. Ibid. 42.

18. 1845 City Directory of Cleveland, Cleveland State University Library Archives and Special Collections, Rhodes Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.

19. Van Tassel and Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 1083. Thomas White, whose daughter-in-law, Delia Holden White would attend Mittleberger School, originally founded White Mfg. Co. in 1866. In 1876 it was the White Sewing Machine Co. with 600 employees producing the White Rotary Bobbin sewing machine in a building on Canal Street in Cleveland. The company eventually diversified to produce many industrial products and automobiles (later White Motor Corp.). All but White Motor were consolidated into White Consolidated Industries in 1964.

20. Cleveland City Directories, 1837/38 microfiche, Cabinet 42: 2,3; 1845:372 microfiche. (Cleveland, Ohio: J. H. Williston & Co., Printers and Publishers) Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

21. Elijah Peet, *Peet's General Business Directory of the Cities of Cleveland or Ohio (city), for 1845-6, First Year of Publication*. (Cleveland: Sanford & Hayward, Printers, 1845)

22. Joblin, M. *Cleveland Past and Present: Its Representative Men: Comprising Biographical Sketches of Pioneer Settlers and Prominent Citizens*, 1869. (Cleveland, Ohio: Produced by: Distributed Proofreaders). Retrieved @FullBooks.com.

23. Peet, *City Directory*, 1845, 39.

24 . Robinson & Savage & Co., *City Directory of the United States*. Segment II, 1861-1881, Reel 4 of 6, 1875-77, Cleveland.

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25. Van Tassel and Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 1070.
26. Peet, 2d edition, 1845-46, 27; William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven and New London: Yale University Press, 1995) 53,75; Van Tassel and Grabowski, *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 278.
27. Ella Grant Wilson, *Famous Old Euclid Avenue, 1932*; Ella Grant Wilson Manuscript Collection, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
28. *Knight & Parsons Directory of Cleveland*, 1856 (Microfiche 377:1); 1857 Directory (Microfiche 378:1); 1857-1858 Directory (Microfiche 379:2); 1859-60 Directory (Microfiche 381:2—changes to “34 Euclid”).
29. Cigliano, Figure 10, sketch/facsimile of Euclid, 1846-47 by Carlos Smith, 1908, WRHS.
30. Ibid, 21.
31. Elbert J. Benton, *Cultural Story of an American City*, vol. III, (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1946) photograph and caption, after 8.
32. Snead & Cowles Directory, 1850-51 (Microfiche 375:2); Knight & Parson’s Directory of the City of Cleveland, 1852-53. Cleveland: E. G. Knight & Co. and Parsons & Company, 1853 (Microfiche 376:3). Western Reserve Historical Society.
33. Michael J. McTighe, *A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland*. (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1994.
34. Ibid, 148.
35. Ibid. 228.
36. Hoyt Family History, Western Historical Society; *Eighth Annual Catalogue of the Cleveland Female Seminary*, Cleveland, Ohio 1861-1862 *With Prospectus for the Year 1862-3*.
37. Andrew Freese, *Early History of the Cleveland Public Schools* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Board of Education; Robinson, Savage & Co. Book Publishers, Frankfort Street, 1876); Wm. J. Akers, *Cleveland Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (Cleveland: W. M. Bayne Printing House, Printers and Publishers, 1901).
38. Ella Grant Wilson, *Famous Old Euclid Avenue*, Vol. 1. Cleveland, Ohio, 1932
39. McTighe, 35-37.

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40. Ibid. 36-43,51. See Douglass, *The Feminization of American Culture*.
41. McTighe, 28-33.
42. Ibid, 43, 228.
43. Ibid. 148-149.
44. Elijah Peet. *Peet's General Business Directory of the City of Cleveland & Ohio City, for 1845-6. First Year of Publication*. Cleveland: Sanford & Hayward, Printers. 1845
45. *Annals of Cleveland, Court Record Series*, Abstract 69, "Coal, Prices" CP 780-38:37 under "Industry." Cleveland Public Library reference, Cleveland, Ohio. Mittleberger owned roughly 3/10's interest in the Fulton Mining Company.
46. Mrs. W. H. Ingham, *Women of Cleveland and Their Work*, (Cleveland, Ohio: W. A. Ingham, 1891; see also Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio Mss. F34ZH 148, 1893)183,189.
47. Knight & Parsons, Reel #6, 52-53
48. *Biographical Sketches of Early Clevelanders*, Western Reserve Historical Society, 2-page manuscript get ms. #; David Van Tassel & John Grabowski, 1996, 195.
49. Linda Thayer Guilford. *The Story of a Cleveland School From 1848 to 1881: Written for its Pupils* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890) 84.
50. Ibid. 84-86.
51. Ibid. 85, 90-91.
52. Ibid. 93.
53. Ibid. 95-96
54. Ibid. 93-94
55. Ibid, 189.
56. *Eighth Annual Catalogue of the Cleveland Female Seminary*, Cleveland, Ohio 1861-1862 *With Prospectus for the Year 1862-3*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., Printers, Herald Office, 1862). 14.

57. *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue and Prospectus of the Cleveland Female Seminary and First Annual Catalogue of the Euclid Avenue Branch,, Cleveland, Ohio, 1868-9.* 7 (roster), 9-10 (“Course of Study”), 14 (“Expenses Per Term—Half Year”).

58. Guilford, *Story of a Cleveland School*, 191; Emma Betts Sterling Diaries here; city directory advertising (red notebook) here.

59. Guilford, *Story of a Cleveland School*, 187; *Eighth Annual Catalogue of the Cleveland Female Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio, 1861-62: With Prospectus For the Year 1862-3.* Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., Printers, Herald Office, 1862. Julia S. Hopkins appears on the Board of Instruction, page three. Gussie Mittleberger is listed, along with William Rockefeller’s daughter, Mary A., Amasa B. Stone’s daughters Isabella and Arabella, her cousins, Lydia and Fannie R. Hoyt, and Sherlock Andrews’ daughter Clara E. Andrews, 5-7 “Pupils”. Gussie’s uncle, James M. Hoyt appears page 2, “Board of Directors.”

60. Guilford, *Story of a Cleveland School*, 186-188.

61. Ibid. 277-283.

62. *The Interlude*, May, 1908. Cornelia Blakemore Warner address alludies to the death of both sons at a young age. Alexander and William are buried with the family in Lakeview Cemetery, Section 5, Plot # 28, Cleveland, Ohio (personal visit to cemetery.)

63. Records of Deaths, Cuyahoga County Probate Court Index, #13-180, William Mittleberger, “Merchant, Bright’s Disease, Cleveland, January (11, recorded, actually January 1 died), 1875. “ Western Reserve Historical Society microfilm, Cleveland, Ohio; *Cleveland Leader*, “The Late William Mittleberger“, Deaths” vol. 28, Jan. 4, 1875, 5.

64. Emma Betts Sterling Diaries, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING AND EXPANSION OF THE MITTLEBERGER SCHOOL

Augusta Mittleberger buried her father in Woodland Cemetery on Monday, January 4, 1875 after the coroner confirmed he had died of his long complications from Bright's disease. Services were held from St. Paul Chapel at Prospect and Perry Streets. He was 72 years old, and had suffered business downturns in the 1873 recession. In 1871, young Augusta had sued the Fulton Mining Company on behalf of her mother, seeking funds they believed were owed to William, who had a three-tenths interest in the company. Within a year she requested the suit be dropped for court costs only. It is likely that William was ill even then, since he did not appear himself, and "lost his business" two years after in 1873.¹

Truly this was a hard-working family, but like many Victorian families, touched by family illness. Young Augusta's brother Alexander, who was 11 in the 1860 census died sometime after 1863, as did her youngest brother William, who was five years old in the same census records.² Per William's obituaries and a 1908 reunion address by Mittleberger's former associate principal, Cornelia Blake Warner, the elder Mrs. Mittleberger could not attend the funeral services for husband William's funeral, as she

was seriously ill. Warner, in Mittleberger's presence at the annual Alumnae Luncheon of 1908, summed up the life-changing events for young Augusta:

There was once a young girl like yourselves, highborn, talented, an only daughter, the chief treasure of her home and the centre of a circle of adoring friends, an exquisite flower of the best of Cleveland society.

I have often been told how she appeared at *her* graduation, glowing and scintillating with girlish beauty and the charm of high intelligence, so that the memory of her, on that day of scholastic triumph, sets a halo about her still in the thought of those who saw her then.

To all appearances she had before her just the career of a brilliant society woman, in that exclusive Euclid Avenue home whose idol she was. Sudden changes came, successive bereavements that took away father and two brothers and that left this young woman, nurtured in luxury, the sole dependence of a brilliant mother stricken to the heart by her sorrows and by fatal, lingering illness.³

Warner indicates that Augusta had given up her teaching position at Cleveland Female Seminary in 1874 to take care of her ailing mother, though Guilford's book says Augusta had spent 1874 teaching at the Cleveland Academy. Though the information conflicts as to which institution she left Mittleberger taught at both schools, and the confusion may be in what "term" she taught in any given year. We do know by several accounts that she conducted small classes in her home, and there is evidence that at least two girls requested of Brooks School that they might attend there, due to Miss Mittleberger's 1875 "illness" (most likely that she cancelled home classes for a while after the father's death, or the two girls meant the mother's illness).⁴ Warner attested to the home classes, naming Annie Otis, Annie Winslow, Margaret Root, Helen Judd, and Nettie Sterling and "I know not what others" as students at that time.⁵

In the period after William's death, his wife remained listed at 354 Superior as a widow ("wid. William,") 1875-1876, but Gussie did not advertise her small school in the city directory. However, in the 1876 section, the address, again with the "widow

William” designation, reads “r” for residence at 427 Superior, indicating that the two women had left their home, moving down the street eastward.⁶

During 1876, the city directory lists 19 Catholic schools and 12 private schools: Brooks Boys’ School at Sibley near Hayward; Brooks School for Young Ladies and Misses, contact information as John S. White, head master, 1194 Euclid Avenue; The Cleveland Academy, 156 Huron, L. T. Guilford, principal; Cleveland Female Seminary, Woodland Avenue, corner, Wallingford Court, S. N. Sanford, principal; Freeman, Cornelia W. Miss, at 283 Perry; Home Seminary, Willson Av, corner Euclid Av, Charles Herdsman, prin.; Light Cottage Family Boarding School, 216 E. Madison; Logan Avenue Seminary, 846 Logan, Mrs. D. R. Whitcomb, prin.; and West Cleveland Central School, at Detroit, between Cherry and Gordon Av., Miss Hattie L. Kennon, prin.⁷

Finally, Mittleberger advertises in the 1877-78 city directory as follows: “Mittleberger, G. Miss, Teacher Cleveland Academy, bds. 487 Prospect”. Guilford’s book mentioned Mittleberger only once as coming to teach in 1874, and does not mention her again until the last chapter, when she indicates the declining status of the Cleveland Academy as caused by competing schools, and mentions the presence in 1877 of a “large boarding and day school, with good teachers and attractive surroundings, was opened at the corner” of Prospect and Case Avenues, though she does not name it as the Mittleberger School.⁸ It appears, then, that “Miss Gussie” suspended her home classes after her father’s death, moved with her mother in 1876 to 427 Superior, and later moved (it is not clear if her mother accompanied her at that time, but likely) to 487 Prospect, while Gussie worked again at the Cleveland Academy.

The 1878-79 directory puts mother and daughter together, with the private school: “Mittleberger, Augusta, wid. William r. 429 Prospect. Mittleberger, Augusta, Miss, private school, 429 Prospect.” This address was known then as the “Leek Block,” a large building known later as “The Croxden” which still stands (2009) as “Six Chimneys” in townhouse style. It is not clear if the 487 address where Gussie boarded according to the 1877-78 directory was near, or a part of that same building. However, Warner’s address confirms that the school to which she came to work in 1879 was, indeed, the same building, later the “Croxden,” which stood near the northwest corner of Prospect and Case Avenue.⁹

It should be noted that seldom did any of the aforementioned schools appear in display advertising format—they were simply listed in one or a few lines, and sometimes within the residential listing, rather than under “Schools,” and were rather inconsistent in content, abbreviations, and punctuation. One early exception was an 1874 newspaper ad marking the opening of the Brooks Military School (boys), set in a boxed, single column format. For the most part, however, the 1870s schools did not put their money into display advertising, though business advertising in all mediums was popular, artful, sometimes quite large, and often ornate. We will see later that Mittleberger did use other advertising mediums both locally and nationally as the school grew. It is of note also that Mittleberger’s name was often misspelled with such alternate spellings as “Mittelberger,” and it is not clear whether directory mistakes were responsible for the different names given the school, or whether Mittleberger changed the name herself. The school was referred to as “Miss Mittleberger School for Young Ladies,” ... “for Young Girls,” for

both, simply the “Mittleberger School” and, verifiably “Miss Mittleberger’s English and Classical School” in the title of the school’s 1894-1895 catalogue.¹⁰

Cornelia Blakemore of Philadelphia, graduate of Ogontz School, had also attended the early days of what later became Harvard’s Radcliffe.¹¹ She came to join Augusta Mittleberger in the expansion of the Croxden location in 1879. That year Mittleberger, whose school could take in limited boarding students, rented a single, small home on the south side of Sibley Avenue (now Carnegie) one block south of Prospect to accommodate the boarding department. In the fall of that year, Blakemore took residence with three other teachers and three boarding students: Harriet Wick of Youngstown, Anna Dick of Shelby, and Carrie Morse of Marquette. Sibley and Case Avenues were unpaved, and though Blakemore would love her years at the “cottage” on Sibley, the muddy, daily trek to the Leek Block was often grueling.¹²

In 1890 Blakemore married the wealthy Worcester Warner of Cleveland. Warner’s 1908 speech profiled the Croxden location, and though it conflicts in some details with Guilford, newspaper accounts—even some favorite Cleveland and Ohio histories—the speech was printed within days of the address, and Blakemore was only 47 years old when she spoke, and was a contemporary eyewitness, working eleven years with Mittleberger as teacher, associate principal, and some-time business partner. They remained friends even after Blakemore Warner moved to New York, traveled the world, and joined New York society.¹³

Warner remembers Mittleberger having 40-45 students at the Leek Block, and named several students with familiar, prominent family names such as Harkness, Sherwin, Crowell, Herrick, and Hough. Principal Mittleberger was simply referred to as

“Miss Gussie” as she had always been. Warner recalled the school’s emphasis on the promotion of the value of English, and extolled the “guidance in the recitation of the best American literature and the efforts in writing, the construction of good sentences and themes, and spelling.”¹⁴

Mittleberger offered both an English and Classical program, meaning the classical required the taking of Latin (one of Mittleberger’s teaching specialties, along with history) which she taught for some years. Eventually, those students taking the four-year classical course in good standing were awarded certificates that would allow them to bypass the entrance examination to several prestigious women’s colleges including Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr and The College for Women at Western Reserve University.¹⁵

At some point between 1877 and 1880, Mittleberger must have assessed the climate and possibilities for offering a kindergarten-to-college preparatory program, something her mentor Linda Thayer Guilford long desired, but was unable to effect at the Cleveland Academy on Huron. In fact, in 1878, hoping to draw more male students, Guilford turned the Academy over to Mr. Isaac Bridgeman, who taught Latin and Greek there. Even attempts to fill a new kindergarten at the Academy under Mrs. Anna B. Ogden, of Wellington, Ohio could not halt the decline in enrollment, which numbered only 50 students the following year. The kindergarten lasted only a year, with eight students. Mrs. Ogden ran the school one more year at 143 Prospect Street before it was abandoned. The Primary Department closed in 1879.¹⁶ Nor were the small private schools aforementioned much competition for the school Mittleberger envisioned.

The Cleveland Female Seminary, founded in 1854, Mittleberger's own alma mater, was no longer the competitor it would have been in earlier years. In fact, laden with debt and facing lawsuits, the directors had sold the building on Kinsmans right after Mittleberger's graduation in 1863. Professor S. N. Sanford and Levi Buttles purchased the seminary building and grounds with the condition they would assume some \$17,000 in debt. Sanford and his wife had been the heads of CFS since 1858—Mittleberger knew them well. CFS continued 15 years as a private institution averaging around 110 pupils, an increasing number of them from abroad. Compared to its 1854 opening of 230 girls, the seminary had its lowest attendance (70) in 1857-1858 as it dealt with poor physical conditions and mounting debt. The school continued with high academic standards. Its tuition began at \$250 per annum for boarders and \$40-\$50 for day pupils. The 1863 catalogue shows half-year tuition of \$100 for boarding students and \$15-\$20 for day school pupils, with additional charges for extras (music, languages, art, elocution and penmanship). It seems odd the tuition would be less than in the 1850s, but Civil War years may have made that move necessary, for the tuition increased to \$300 a year, \$350 for new students, and charges for all the optional courses also increased in the 1868-1869 catalogue.¹⁷

By 1880 though, the difficulties at CFS were obvious according to Guilford, and there would have been few educational network secrets in this tightly connected circle of private schools. After all, Mittleberger had taught at CFS, the Cleveland Academy, taught children of many prominent Clevelanders, and her uncle James Madison Hoyt sat on the Board of Trustees at CFS. All of her competitors were only a short distance, the farthest was CFS at Kinsman and a few near the Willson Road city limits.¹⁸

The Cleveland Normal School would not have been a competitor for Mittleberger's School. Organized for the training of teachers in 1874 in Eagle Street School, entrance conditions included that one be a graduate of a Cleveland High School or a person holding a certificate from the city board of examiners with one year of teaching experience, and entrants must have been 16 years or older. These students could attend the Normal School free—non-residents were required to pay \$20 per year. However, the Normal School favored Cleveland high school graduates and thus, indirectly, its presence could draw pupils away from Mittleberger's private school.

Mittleberger's strongest competitor was the Cleveland Central High School (CCHS), established in 1846. A public high school was not a popular idea at first with the elite of Cleveland who fought school board member Charles Bradburn in his efforts to create one. Opponents felt that such advanced training was not the responsibility of taxpayers. Harvey Rice, lawyer and champion for Ohio's common schools (he had taught at the early 1820s Cleveland Academy on Claire Street) believed public schools should be more interested in education for the masses of children in the lower grades in Cleveland. Along these lines, Cleveland lawyer Henry Payne believed it was immoral to fund a high school at the expense of some two thousand children who still lacked access to early-grade schools.¹⁹

CCHS had a rough beginning. In 1847 *The School Boy*, the school's student-run newspaper complained of its location in a church basement (the Bethel Chapel). In 1850 pupils, according to the school paper, were still "pent up" in a cellar, and "more neglected than any other in this city."²⁰ Eventually, in 1855, the city built a lavish structure on Willson Road. However, there seemed an obvious attempt to undermine the local private

academies, according to historian William Reese, as the city refused to examine private school alumni for admission to Central in the late 1840s and early 1850s, desiring, Reese implied, “to popularize the system.” Reese indicated that CCHS in 1847 was quite public about social distinction. Students and staff revealed their sense of social differences in *The School Boy*, running a teacher’s essay about the bad, rude boys who ran the streets in Cleveland. Though the high school was appealing to elites, many admitted to high schools nationwide were middle class, Protestant sons of merchants, small businessmen, manufacturers, etc., but seemed, at least among the advanced students (“scholars”) to distinguish themselves readily from the immigrant and poor in cities before the 1880s, as evidenced in Cleveland Central’s *The School Boy*.²¹ However, the practicality of educating the middle class of Cleveland had taken hold.

CCHS excluded girls its first year, and separated girls from boys when it did admit them beginning 1847. By the 1850s the girls were still demanding access to advanced mathematics courses, to wit they were taught in separate portions of the same room²²

Also, in Mittleberger’s deliberations over the climate for an expanded college preparatory curriculum, it must have been a relief (business-wise) when, in 1876 the Cleveland Superintendent, Andrew Rickoff, who advocated a separate female high school, met with much opposition to the cost of such a project (he did abolish the separation of sexes at the school). Another timely event for Mittleberger’s expansion plans was that the state of Ohio had legislated compulsory education for children ages 8-14, obviously a possible benefit to both public and private schools, though the mandate was for only 12 weeks a year.²³

Having assessed the educational competition, Mittleberger must have considered whether to establish her school again within Cleveland's city limits. The environment was anything but bucolic in the late 1870s. The public schools were crowded, and considered unsanitary. Thousands of immigrants, particularly Germans, Irish, Bohemian, and Canadians had come to Cleveland, "encroaching" just beyond the fashionable streets either side of Euclid Avenue (Superior Avenue and Prospect). The town was still a rather small urban space—cows were grazing nine blocks from Public Square, and the city limits eastward was country. Robert V. Bruce's *1877: Year of Violence* (1959) includes many references to Cleveland's industrial-age problems. The Cleveland "Flats" on the Cuyahoga was awash in squalor, particularly the Irish "shanty town." Northern Ohio was said to be overrun with tramps. Cleveland's "Poverty Barn," a sort of municipal shelter for vagabonds was reportedly full of lodgers—white, literate, and "quite young" as early as January of 1876. The 1873 recession nationwide was reflected in the numbers seeking work in Cleveland. Cleveland factories by the late 1870s made sheet metal, iron and steel goods, railroad cars, iron bridges, sewing machines, paint, ships, paper, and woolens, among other products--the industrial smoke sent down soot on Cleveland's 100,000 residents, of whom 40 percent were foreign born and lived as close as they could to their industrial jobs, even though the palpable smoke could be seen some distance offshore. Bruce reports the complaint of one lady from Arkansas who said: "Clean linen becomes an impossibility here; food and drink is impregnated with the coal dust and smoke." One local paper reported: "Cleveland streets reeked with a poisonous and miasmatic vegetable and animal matter"—the horse culture meant a stench and clogged

gutters in every major city. Cleveland in the late 1870s meant liveries, horse-drawn cars, and carriages for well-to-do Mittleberger girls.²⁴

However, of chief concern in Cleveland was the violence. The Cleveland *Leader* questioned how there could be so many murders, when the city had had no murders between 1815 and 1867, and yet so many in the last eight years leading to 1877, and reported in quite “gory” detail. Also reported was that Cleveland had been overrun with organized gangs of thieves and vagabonds.²⁵

Moreover, labor violence meant a strike every month for the previous ten years in Cleveland. The railroad strikes were particularly disconcerting. The rail lines met large groups of strikers who blocked the passage of the mail through and into Cleveland. There were several railroad owners in Cleveland, most notably John Devereaux of Euclid Avenue. When the Standard Oil coopers (barrel makers) struck against a cut in pay that left them fifty six cents a day, it triggered an attempted general strike for all Cleveland workers earning under a dollar a day. Attempts to organize the rolling mills failed and resulted in mass discharges, adding to the rancor, and a dangerous tension had risen between Cleveland workers and the industrial elite who had built their opulent mansions along Euclid Avenue.²⁶ John Hay, Lincoln’s former private secretary, married to Clara Stone, daughter of industrialist Amasa Stone, lived at 12th Street and Euclid from 1875 to 1886. He would in 1883 publish *The Breadwinners*, an anonymous social novel, bitterly anti-labor, that told of Bohemian-led mill strikers and the dangers to the wealthy residents of “Algonquin Avenue” in “Buffland.” There is no doubt the book profiles Cleveland’s Euclid Avenue society and the dangers imposed by striking laborers—the anonymity of

the author was short-lived, and modern reprints bear his authorship. Hay's daughters attended the Mittleberger School.²⁷

Whatever the course of her thinking during the years at the Leek Block from 1877 to 1880, Mittleger's school grew, "straining at the seams" as Warner put it. Gussie and her mother had been a part of elite Cleveland before the first trees were cut past Erie Street (9th Street), and, regardless of her working and her head of household status, both remained in the *Cleveland Blue Book*, the social registry at that time, and had elite connections, one of them Laura Spelman Rockefeller. When she heard that Rockefeller planned to move a house similar to his own from the corner of Euclid Avenue at Case, so as to gain an unobstructed view east of his own home, Mittleberger made her decision to approach Mrs. Rockefeller. The house had been purchased by Rockefeller in 1878 from retailer Levi Burgert; Rockefeller, according to Warner, had purchased the southeast corner lot at Prospect and Case, somewhat diagonal from the Leek Block school, with plans to move the Burgert house there. Research has brought to light several versions of this huge undertaking, and the sources all seem definite in their reporting. However, there are two eyewitness accounts to the moving of the house, along with the newspaper coverage. More specifically, there exists the original legal document drawn up by Mittleberger's lawyer, "Mr. Herrick" (probably Frank Herrick—he was Mittleberger's lawyer at the time of her death and remembered in her will) and sent to John D. Rockefeller's "Real Estate Dealer and Broker" J. G. W. Cowles for he and Rockefeller's approval and signature.²⁸

At the urging of his wife "Cettie," in whose name he had put the house, Rockefeller agreed to move the house intact, repair any damage in the move, guarantee

the gas and plumbing hook-ups to the street, lathe and plaster the third floor attic, and spend \$100, if required in painting, papering, and cleaning below the attic. The house in question was referred to as the “Burgert house,” and it was to be moved onto the lot no later than November 1st (or 10; it is unreadable) of 1880. The document stipulates rent at \$1500 a year, payable monthly for a two-year term, with the option to rent a third year at the same price. The document clears up other “historical” reports that Rockefeller donated the building to Mittleberger, nor that it was the house the Rockefellers occupied. Warner said she heard the move cost Rockefeller \$10,000.²⁹

In the 1930’s, Samuel J. Kelly wrote a column for the *Plain Dealer* titled “Memories of Historic Cleveland” which were later bound “scrapbook” style in four volumes by Cleveland journalist and historian, William Ganson Rose. The subject of Kelley’s July 25, 1937 article was headlined “Rockefeller Moves a Home.” His account spoke of the moving of the “Bourget” home in 1880. Kelly, an eyewitness, says heavy greased timbers were placed horizontally under the house, and “screw-jacks, secured firmly and working in unison, pushed the huge pile inch by inch. After two weeks, the house was moved on to the tracks of the street railway (he referred to them as “horse cars”), impeding westbound cars completely. Passengers, including Kelly, alighted from one car, walked around the large house, and took another car downtown. Kelly says he and other passengers did this for a month, which means the move took a total of six weeks, if his memory of this event, some 57 years before the article was written, was correct.³⁰ Kelly’s column says the school at “1020 Prospect” was in place 23 years (actually 26), and then became the “Mittleberger Hotel” with the address “4008 Prospect.” City directories advertise the hotel in the early 1900s (beginning 1908) as

under the proprietorship of one “J. B. Conley.” Kelly says the house was believed to be 75 years of age when it was brought down by wrecking contractors “almost the first day of April, 1930,” having served as many as 225 students a term at the height of its attendance.³¹

Warner, still only 20 years old, crawled inside a window while the house was jacked up and in transit, and marveled at the size of the house, and how the walls had not cracked, which had been a great concern to the public watching this feat that had never been done before in Cleveland. However, she puts the move at 1881, and that they moved in at Christmas vacation in twelve-degree weather. This is a conflict with all other accounts, including the rental document. It is most likely Warner meant 1880, or it was an *Interlude* typo; the actual opening of the facility, however, was January of 1881, and there might lie the confusion.³²

Warner was also emphatic that Mr. Rockefeller acted always as a landlord, and in no way was Mittleberger’s financial backer. She said within the first two years the school needed an addition, and that Mittleberger “built it herself” to accommodate the academic and intermediate departments and some of the resident teachers. However, in having said that, she praised Rockefeller as a landlord, “one able and willing to maintain and extend such a school property as the need arises...” Warner said Rockefeller was paid rental at a seven per cent valuation on the property—and the rental did change accordingly over the years.³³ In an 1889 rental agreement (another two-year rental), the terms changed considerably, as Rockefeller agreed to remove some frame buildings from the lot and expand the school greatly to the rear, fronting on Case Avenue. In a detailed, complicated legal document, Rockefeller signed, along with Mittleberger and Warner,

that he would pay \$33,000 for the expansion, and that Mittleberger would pay half of any cost of construction over that figure. The architect for the expansion was named as “C. O. Arey.” At the bottom of the document is a handwritten note (probably her lawyer’s hand, as it looks like Herrick’s writing) and signed by Rockefeller: “Received, January 29th 1891, from Miss Augusta Mittleberger Twelve hundred and eighty seven dollars in full payment for her one-half of the expenditures on account of construction over and above the agreed amount of \$34,500. I hereby agree that the monthly rental on this lease from and after February 1st , 1891 has been ascertained to be and is hereby fixed at \$360. 97 payable each month.”³⁴

It is to Rockefeller’s credit that he did support the Mittleberger School considerably; though records exist proving such, newspaper and biographies simply say he moved the house, renting it to Miss Mittleberger for her school. The Rockefeller Archives list online his charitable donations—only a \$150 gift for one student’s tuition is listed.³⁵

Historian Grace Goulder says none of the Rockefeller children were on the rolls of the Mittleberger School. It is true that all the children, besides the Rockefellers’ firstborn, Bessie, were tutored at the Forest Lawn home, the second Cleveland home of the Rockefellers. It is not clear if Mittleberger was one of Bessie’s private tutors. However, Bessie went to Vassar, 1886-1888, marrying Charles Strong in 1899, son of Dr. and Mrs. Augusta Strong, family friends of the Rockefellers. John Rockefeller’s brother Frank Rockefeller sent his daughter Helen Effie Rockefeller to the Mittleberger School; her name *did appear* as a student in the 1895 “Academic Department” under “School Directory” in an *Interlude* issue.³⁶

The year (1882) after the school at 1020 Prospect opened, the elder Mrs. Augusta Mittleberger died on December 14. Services were held at the school on December 18, since both mother and daughter lived in residence. The Necrology report says it was a private burial. She was buried at Lakeview Cemetery in what was later the Mittleberger plot, Section 5. However, the internment date is much later in the spring. Records show that Gussie Mittleberger arranged to have all her other family members removed from Woodland Cemetery and reburied at Lakeview Cemetery, where so many of the well-to-do were buried.³⁷

Warner stated that she and grieving daughter Augusta “went abroad together after it and made ourselves strong for the next year’s cares”. It is not clear for how long they traveled; one could not effect a trip abroad over Christmas, but they may have had faculty prepare for the 1883 winter term students until their return. Thus, though she had a strong circle of friends and numerous Hoyt cousins, Mittleberger’s immediate family, all four of them, were gone. Augusta was now 37 years old.³⁸

Warner does not say much about the years 1883-1885, despite the fact that the daughter of President Rutherford B. Hayes, Fannie Hayes, was attending with classmate Molly Garfield, daughter of assassinated President and Cleveland, James Garfield. A January 13, 1883 letter from Hayes to his daughter ends with a response to her last letter: “I will write Miss Mittleberger not to worry you too much with Examinations or Severe Studies. With love from all, Affectionately, R. B. Hayes.” Fanny wrote: “Jan. 16th, 1883, 1020 Prospect St., Cleveland, Ohio” expressing her relief that she did not have to take all the examinations, saying “Mabel says they are very severe. I do not feel very uncomfortable as regards the examination in U. S. History, but Grammar, Arithmetic,

French, Bible, Definitions and Reading are dreadful nightmares.” She went on to say it was Mollie Garfield’s birthday, but that she and two friends were invited to dine and spend the evening with Mollie, but they were not allowed to go. There you have it—a typical list of Mittleberger course examinations, rules of the house on visiting, between two hardly typical children. Molly sent Fanny and friends roses and boxes of candy over the disappointment. And, yes, apparently Miss Mittleberger gave Fanny some slack that term at the request of her father, if he did, indeed, contact Mittleberger. Later young Hayes and young Garfield were again school mates at Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, Connecticut.³⁹

During that period, however, several years before Rockefeller would agree to greatly enlarge the school; Mittleberger needed room for a kindergarten, and so she rented quarters at 729 Case Avenue, just north of Prospect. Finally the school rented the entire house “at an iniquitous rental” said Warner, but added “we simply had to have it and so could afford to.” Warner took a leave of absence 1886-87 and considered taking a position with the Ogontz School, her Alma Mater and close to her Philadelphia home. However, from 1887-1889 she returned as a partner in what would then be referred to as Miss Mittleberger and Miss Blakemore’s School. That summer came the large expansion and renovation of the house. The partners had to limit attendance to 225, they had so many applications. When Blakemore married in 1890, the reception was held at the school.⁴⁰

As an example of the offerings of the school at its height in attendance, the 1894-1895 catalogue is quite thorough. The 42-page booklet included 11 photographs of the school, taken most years by local photographer, Edward Decker, whose studio was on

Euclid Avenue. There were eastern and western views of the school, reception and library rooms, the kindergarten and academic rooms, the gymnasium, the clay molding and woodcarving room, and the painting and drawing studios. Boarding students and resident teachers had rooms on the second floor, as did the school mistress herself. The “Instructors” page listed 19 faculty members, but reference was also made to “The teachers of the Cleveland Conservatory of Music,” who gave lessons in Piano, Organ, Voice, Stringed Instruments, and Theory, which may explain why other sources frequently referred to the school as having an average of 29 faculty members. Instructors that year included Harriet Mansur Nesmith, Associate Principal, who taught Literature and Mathematics; Katherine Agnes Livingstone, Mathematics; Cornelia Golay, B. A., Latin and English; Katharine Upham Peirce, B. A., Natural Science; Harriet Burr Day, B. A., English and Greek; Minna Lubbers, German; Philomene Jardinier, French; Ella Katherine Beecher, Elocution and Delsarte Gymnastics; Caroline Holley Whittlesey, Drawing, and History of Art; Sigrid Ruth, M. G., Swedish Gymnastics; Elizabeth Minerva Dennis, Intermediate Department; Sylvia Curry Russell, Intermediate Department, Cornelia Thomas, Primary Department; Mary Bennett Dennis, Primary Department; Bertha Watterson Kennedy, Manual Training; Gertrude Fuller, Kindergarten; Herman Matzen, Clay Modeling, and Wood Carving; and Franklin Bassett, Piano.⁴¹

Mittleberger favored separate departments as “distinct as separate schools,” and she limited the number admitted to each, indicating the attention to pupils as in a small school, but having “the advantages which only a large one can provide.” There were four departments: kindergarten, primary, intermediate, and academic, and the school was

referred to as “college preparatory.” Mittleberger made it clear that the school aims and methods of work were flexible—“modifications only as extended experience and enlightened principles relating to education may dictate.” Sources praise her for having up-dated her methods throughout the years. Warner said whenever new methods came along, Mittleberger and she would travel directly to the source of those new theories/methods, be they in Chicago, Massachusetts, or abroad.⁴²

The Boarding Department and faculty residents were referred to as “Family” and Mittleberger indicated that evenings were spent in “reading good literature, French and German conversation, and the discussion of current events.” Saturday evenings were reserved for the reception of friends. For health’s sake she also requested the parents to “aid in preserving the health of their daughter by not providing them with cake and confectionery...” There was also a cautionary tone urging “simplicity of dress and a moderate allowance of spending money.”⁴³ The school was decidedly Protestant, promoting Christian values, the reading of the Protestant bible, church attendance (parents directed the choice of church) and the visiting of Protestant church ministers, usually as speakers.⁴⁴

The major educational thinkers/practitioners of the day as regards the Mittleberger School program included the “Quincy” school methods of Chicago’s Francis W. Parker (he particularly argued against testing based on the memorization of “reams” of facts, and the German influences so popular in America in the late 1800s: Friedrich Froebel’s kindergarten work, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi’s “education according to nature” theory, and the German (and Swedish) gymnasium movement. Froebel is specifically mentioned in the 1894-95 catalogue at the end of the four-year Course of Study: “A separate room

is fitted up with tables and materials, where the Froebel advanced drawing, designing, clay modeling, and occupations tending to develop deftness of hand and quickness of perception, are conducted.”⁴⁵ References to the “object method,” popular in Gilded Age schools, popularized by Edward Selden of Oswego, role play, memorization, language exercises based on the nature lessons, the topic method, and an emphasis on “physical culture” abound throughout the course descriptions. It was a very “hands-on” curriculum, and there was strong attention to health. Swedish and Delsarte gymnastics, and more than one hour’s daily walk in the open air, were regular daily requirements for the students, as Jane Hunter emphasized. Eventually the girls played sports, particularly basketball and tennis, as evidenced in the 1903 and 1907 *Interlude* covers (drawings) which depict women in sports dress contrasted with a typical woman’s dress.⁴⁶

Classes were age-graded, and there was a hint of ability-grouping for students: “The lessons are adapted to the age of the pupil; each occupation being restricted to its own grade.” Mittleberger described the graded course of manual training which included wood working, clay modeling, wood carving, sewing and cooking. Manual training was optional, but the school urged “patrons” to have their daughters stay for warm lunch and the manual course in the afternoon.⁴⁷

Turning to the Kindergarten Department (boys were admitted to the Kindergarten and the Primary Department through the fourth grade), the program was divided into three classes, according to age and degree of development. It was intended to spread the Kindergarten experience over three years, and gives the impression that it is very much like today’s “pre-school” through kindergarten programs. The 1894-95 catalogue indicated that “Miss Fuller” was in charge of the department, aided by the German

teacher (Fraulein Lubbers) who conducted German conversation with the children. It expressly said in Mittleberger's write-up that "The best work cannot be done for children unless they are entered as early as four years of age."⁴⁸

One particularly interesting part of Mittleberger's offerings was the range of speakers who were a part of the "Lectures" offered at the school. It is not clear if these were held only for the Academic Department (roughly the 9th through 12th grades). What is obvious is that Mittleberger drew "distinguished specialists" in art, science and literature, most of whom held doctorates. Because of her elite connections, she drew the best and brightest. For example, Warner's husband, Worcester Warner, inventor and manufacturer of astronomy instruments, came to lecture in astronomy. We shall learn more of these special connections and visits to the school in Chapter 5, as reported by the *Interlude* staff.⁴⁹

In the mid-1880s the school calendar was divided into three "sessions." The First Term began late September (25th in 1894) and ended December 19, with Thanksgiving Day off. School re-opened the first week in January (3rd in 1894, and the Second Term began early February (4th that year). There was an eight-day break and school reopened April 23 for its third session (quarter?), celebrating "Decoration Day" (May 30 that year). Commencement exercises were held within the first two weeks of June (10th that year), and were very elaborate ceremonies, usually conducted at the First Baptist Church at Prospect and Woodlawn, or St. Paul's Episcopal, one block north on Euclid and Case, southeast corner. The school calendar was frequently tentative, however, mainly due to harsh Cleveland weather. In a horse and carriage world, the school would be forced to close—a complaint mentioned in Guilford's book frequently when she taught at both the

Cleveland Academy and the Cleveland Female Seminary. Heavy snow shut down the horse-drawn rail cars, also. Illness, funerals, power, heating and plumbing problems accounted for other lost days, and thus it looked like “make-up” days might have been instituted, as commencement dates at Mittleberger School varied over the years by as much as two to three weeks.⁵⁰

The school followed a structured, but reasonable and balanced daily schedule, posting it in the catalogue. The day began with a one hour window for breakfast starting at 7:30 a.m., followed by outdoor exercise or gymnastics from 8:20-8:50 a.m. Study and recitation occurred between 9 a.m. and 12:30 p.m., followed by a 45-minute lunch from 12:30-1:15 p.m. After one-half hour of recreation followed by an hour of outdoor exercise, resident pupils went to study hour in the large study hall from 4:00 to 4:45, took dinner from 6:45-7:30 p.m., and went to another study hour, 45 minutes of reading, and lights out at 9:45 p.m. Typically the day students could leave at 2:30 p.m. but many did stay for the manual training option.⁵¹ (See Course of Study for the Academic Department, 1894-1895 in the graphic next two pages.)

Mittleberger School
Course of Study 1894-1895

Academic Department

First Year

First Term	Second Term
<p>Algebra—Olney Physical Geography—Monteith Latin: Grammar—Allen & Greenough Reader, Leighton German: Berlitz—Part I Grimm's Marchen French: Methode Berlitz—Part I Dictation; short poems memorized English Composition: required readings in connection with English history; Narrative and descriptive composition; letter writing</p>	<p>Algebra—Olney History of England—Montgomery Latin—Grammar and Reader German—Berlitz and Grimm—cont'd French—Methode Berlitz—Part I Fables—La Fontaine Exercises in composition English composition, as in first term</p>

Second Year

First Term	Second Term
<p>Algebra—Olney Rhetoric Latin: Prose Composition; Caesar, Gallic War, book I Greek: First Lessons in Greek—White Grammar—Goodwin German: Wenckebach and Schrakamp Undine—De la Motte Fouque Selections from German poets French: Berlitz—Part II La Petite Grammaire pour les Anglais—Sauveur Contes Choisis—Daudet Translation from English into French English Composition: required readings; narrative and Descriptive composition, continued; figures.</p>	<p>Geometry—Wentworth History of Rome—Allen, or Botany—Gray Latin: Prose Composition; Caesar, Gallic War, Books II, III, IV Greek—Reader and Grammar German: Wenckebach and Schrakamp Die Journalisten—Freytag Selections from German poets French: Berlitz—Part II La Petite Grammaire pour les Anglais Dosia Translation from English into French English Composition—Same as first term</p>

Third Year

First Term	Second Term
<p>Geometry—Wentworth English Literature—Shaw's Manual Critical Readings Physics—Gage Latin—Virgil's Aeneid, two books Greek—Anabasis, two books German: Wilhelm Tell—Schiller Selections from German poets Exercises in composition French: Grammaire Francaise—Sauveur Bocher's College Plays Un Philosophe sous les Toits—Souvestre Exercises in composition English Composition—Readings from English authors Study of Style</p>	<p>English Literature—Shaw's Manual Critical Readings Physics—Gage Latin—Virgil's Aeneid—four books Greek—Anabasis, two books German: Grammar—Whitney Minna Von Barnhelm—Lessing Selections from German poets French: Grammaire Francaise—Sauveur Idiomatic French—Hennequin Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre—Feuillet Voyage autour de ma Chambre—X. de Maistre Exercises in composition English Composition—Essays on subjects taken from English Literature</p>

**The Mittleberger School
Course of Study, 1894-1895, cont'd.**

Academic Department , cont'd.

Fourth Year

First Term	Second Term
<p style="text-align: center;">History of Greece, Or, Chemistry—Williams American Literature Latin: Cicero (four orations); sight reading; prose composition Greek—Iliad, two books German: Grammar—Whitney Hermann and Dorothea,—Goethe French: Review of Grammar and Idiomatic French; Frequent compositions; Picciola—X. Saintine; Horace—Corneille English Composition: Reading from general literature; Inventive essays Senior Reviews Physiology (by lectures)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Solid Geometry Or Astronomy—Young Latin: Cicero (three orations); prose composition; Virgil's Eclogues; sight reading Greek: Iliad, two books Jones Exercises in Greek Prose German: Der Oberhof—Immermann Novellen—Riehl Exercises in composition French: Readings from French literature; Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme—Moliere; Athalie—Racine; Les Precieuses Ridicules—Moliere English Composition; same as in first term Senior Reviews History of Art—Weekly lectures</p>

Studies extending through course

**Bible history, and Class singing—weekly
Elocution with Delsarte Gymnastics, or Drawing, (elective)—alternate days
Swedish Gymnastics, or Manual Training—alternate days**

**Electives—Mental Philosophy; Chemistry; History of Art; Trigonometry; special
periods of History, or Literature**

The Course of Study revealed that Mittleberger School offered science in the curriculum, specifically Botany in the second year, a full year of Physics in the third year, and in the fourth year, an option to take Chemistry in place of Greek, Physiology (lectures), and an option to take Astronomy instead of German. Chemistry was also an elective course. There had been an emphasis on science for girls throughout the

antebellum years. In fact, most day schools, boarding schools, female seminaries, common schools, and lyceums had all included some form of formal or informal science (professional organizations, clubs, science writers were also part of popular culture then) in their curriculums, though usually for upper middle and upper class girls, throughout the nineteenth –century. A number of the speakers and frequent lecturers at the Mittleberger School were men of science; nearby residents such as Worcester Warner and Charles Brush were inventors, and spoke to the school. *The Interlude* alluded frequently to the field trips in the city—power plants, museums, etc. However, the Course of Study indicates a strong emphasis on languages, history, and written compositions in all classes. “Senior Reviews” were large, topic-style written papers required to graduate. *The Interlude* published the names of students and their topics as a regular feature.⁵²

Warner, at the 1908 alumnae luncheon with Mittleberger in attendance, and all aware that she was retiring and closing the school the following month, praised her for her entrepreneurial acumen, her independence, and the fact that she never had a Board of Trustees. She made references to the monies that had to be raised to build University School, how Hathaway-Brown School struggled, the deficits at Froebel School, and how the first principal of Laurel Institute was swamped in \$18,000 debt in three years. Given the quiet efforts by the Rockefellers, it seems a bit exaggerated for Warner to have said Mittleberger had been “absolutely self-supporting,” but it was certainly true that there was no “subscription” of funds, no endowments, or large funds of any charitable nature in the business of the Mittleberger School. Warner had loaned some capital to Mittleberger in 1887, but it was returned with interest, in 1889.⁵³

Before discussing the closing of the school in 1908 and Mittleberger's seven years of retirement activities in education, Chapter Five will flesh out the details of school life reported in the issues of the school paper/literary journal, *The Interlude*; and in Chapter 6 we will follow the lives of a representative and successful sampling of Mittleberger graduates. What was it like to be a Mittleberger girl in the context of late nineteenth and early 20th-century Cleveland?

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1. Cleveland *Leader*, January 4, 1875, "The Late William Mittleberger"; Cleveland *Leader*, "Mortuary Report," January 11, 1875; WPA Annals of Cleveland.
 2. Federal Census-Ohio, 1860, 49-50, *Ancestry.com*.
 3. *Mittleberger School Records*, WRHS. *The Interlude*. "When We Were Young," Address of Mrs. Worcester R. Warner. May, 1908, Vol. XVIII, no. 7, 3.
 4. Ruth Crofut Needham. *The First Hundred Years: Hathaway Brown School, 1876-1976*. Cleveland, Ohio, Part I, 4-5.
 5. *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, no. 7, 4. Warner address.
 6. *City Directory of the United States, Cleveland, Ohio, Segment II, 1861-1881, 1875-76 through 1876-1876-77*. Reel 4 of 6, 171, 757. (Cleveland, Ohio: Robinson Savage & Company, Publishers.).
 7. Ibid. "Schools," Reel 5 of 6.
 8. Robinson Savage & Company, 1877-78 through 1878-79, 426; Linda Thayer Guilford, *The Story of a Cleveland School: From 1848 to 1881*. (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890), 277. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com/>
 9. *The Interlude*, vol. XVII, no. 7, 4; Samuel Orth, *A History of Cleveland, Ohio, Vol. 1*. (Chicago-Cleveland: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1910) 541.
 10. Cleveland *Leader*, 1874; *Miss Mittleberger's English and Classical School: 1894-1895*. (Cleveland, Ohio: 1020 Prospect Street (school catalogue). Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
 11. Sue Heinemann, *Timelines of American Women's History*. (New York: The Berkley Group, 1996), 178. The "Harvard Annex," taught by Harvard faculty was opened in 1879 with 27 women, though the Harvard connection was not formalized until 1894 as Radcliffe College.
 12. Ibid. *The Interlude*, 4.
 13. *New York Times*, March 23, 1947. "Mrs. W. R. Warner Dies in Tarrytown." ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *The New York Times*, 61.
 14. *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, Warner address to Alumnae luncheon.
 15. Wellesley College Archives, copy faxed by Archivist. Mittleberger negotiated such certificates with these individual colleges.

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16. Linda Thayer Guilford, *The Story of a Cleveland School*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890) 278-280. Cleveland State University Library, Special Collections, Cleveland, Ohio.
17. *Eighth Annual Catalogue of the Cleveland Female Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio, 1861-62, With Prospectus for the Year 1862-3*. (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., Printers, Herald Office, 1862), 14; *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue and Prospectus of the Cleveland Female Seminary and First Annual Catalogue of the Euclid Avenue Branch, Cleveland, Ohio, 1868-9*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., Printers, Herald Office, 1869), 19.
18. Ibid. *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue*, 2.
19. William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), 75.
20. Ibid, 86.
21. Ibid, 175.
22. Ibid, 229.
23. David D. Van Tassel & John J. Grabowski, eds. *The Dictionary of Cleveland Biography*. (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1996), 376; *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (1996), 377.
24. Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc.1970) 21-23, 204, 72.
25. Ibid., 10-11; originally in *WPA Annals of Cleveland*, LIX, 230, LVIII, 254.
26. Robert V. Bruce, *Year of Violence*, 204-205, 207, 218-221, 319.
27. John Hay, *The Breadwinners: A Social Study*. (Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1967); originally published by Harper & Brothers, 1883; Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910*. (Kent, Ohio, and London, England: The Kent State University Press, in cooperation with The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1991), 117, 124, 102, 243.
28. Wooster Warner Papers, Kelvin Smith Library, Department of Special Collections, Case Western University, Cleveland, Ohio. Original agreement to move Burgert House and leasing agreement, 1800.
29. Ibid.

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30. S. J. Kelly, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "Rockefeller Moves a Home", September 25, 1937 in William Ganson Rose, *S. J. Kelly Articles*, (vol. 2) 207.
31. Ibid; Warner address, 1908, *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, no. 7, 5.
32. Ibid.
33. Warner address.
34. Worcester Warner Papers, Kelvin Smith Library, Department of Special Collections, Case Western University, Cleveland, Ohio. Copy of 3-page, typed rental agreement between John D. Rockefeller, Augusta Mittleberger, and Cornelia Blakemore, notarized May 27, 1889; addendum note January 29, 1891.
35. *Rockefeller Archives*, New York: Tarrytown. Retrieved online.
36. Bessie died in 1906 in Cannes, France. She had suffered from a nervous condition; *The Interlude*, (1895) vol. 6, 14-16.
37. *Lakeview Cemetery Records*, Cleveland, Ohio.
38. Warner address, 1908, *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, 6.
39. Gerard W. Gawalt and Ann G. Gawalt, eds., *First Daughters: Letters Between U. S. Presidents and Their Daughters*. (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 2004), 112-115.
40. Warner address, 1907, *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, 8.
41. *Miss Mittleberger's English and Classical School, 1894-1895*, (Cleveland, Ohio), 6-7.
42. Warner address, *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, 8.
43. *Miss Mittleberger*, catalogue, 13.
44. Joseph Jefferson, letter in Mittleberger School Records, Ms. 470 thanking Mittleberger for having him invited to speak at the school. Vertical File, WRHS LibraryArchives.
45. Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*. (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1964), 134, 277. See also Shelly Ann Richie-Sharp "The History of the Kindergarten" at Froebel Web, <http://members.tripod.com/FroebelWeb2003.html>. and Valerie Ellington, "Philosophy of

Education” at Froebel Web retrieved at
<http://members.tripod.com/FroebelWeb/web2002.html>.

46. Ibid. Course of Study, 17-30; Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*, 141, 148-149; Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002) 191, 263-274.
47. Ibid., 33.
48. Ibid., 14.
49. Ibid., 33.
50. Ibid., 5. *Guilford, Story of a Cleveland School*, 98-100, 69-70.
51. *Miss Mittleberger*, catalogue, 13.
52. Kim Tolley, *The Science of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York and London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003) 52-53; *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, May, 1908.
53. Warner’s address, *The Interlude*, vol. XVIII, 9.

CHAPTER V

MITTLEBERGER SCHOOL JOURNALISM: *THE INTERLUDE*

Much has been written on the repressive, self-sacrificing, duty-bound young American female, from the restrictiveness of her dress—confined in corset, concealed from head-to-toe, sexualized in the wearing of the bustle--to the image of perfect daughters meant to be perfect wives and mothers in the “domestic sphere” from antebellum to turn-of-the-nineteenth-century days. But, as Hunter (2002) says in her study of northeastern middle class Victorian girls, the Victorian domestic world was breaking down in the late nineteenth century.¹

If there was one experience that greatly changed the lives of nineteenth-century girls, it was schooling. Though the motivation behind sending girls to school appeared to be that education meant better-informed wives and mothers, especially in elite circles (a “goal of refinement” as Hunter called it), it also meant creating a pool of teachers. Social and educational reformer Catherine Beecher and others had purveyed the idea so successfully that women’s natural nurturing made them the better-suited for teaching service, and the mostly male field of educational leadership recognized the cost-efficiency of paying females less than men for teaching. Schooling created one of the first professions for American women, and opened the door to higher education. By

1872, 53 percent of all students were girls, 57 percent by 1900. By 1900, girls accounted for about 60 percent of the students in public high schools.²

Schooling opened so much opportunity for American girls that there was no going back, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Industrial Age with its capitalist ideology, its need for trained workers, and new opportunities for women (if only for cost-efficiency), meant at least the need for English proficiency. For some the acquisition of manual training, clerical training, and, of course, teacher training meant better jobs where available. Working girls, so as to compete for jobs, began filling high schools, which heretofore had been considered middle, upper middle class, even upper class in clientele. Though education was a route to becoming a teacher, quite clearly education had become a marker of class, and thus a possible means of class mobility.³

Schooling, as Hunter explained, meant the creation of a school culture and a stepping-out of the family circle. Here, though often a gender struggle in coeducational schools, girls could attain and practice leadership in school government, journalism, honorary, service, and social organizations, much like the Protestant benevolent culture had afforded their mothers and grandmothers opportunities for empowerment, but within the home-extended sphere of church and social work. It is important to remember that these same mothers and grandmothers, while non-college, may have been well-educated in the academy and seminary schools, public school systems, (i.e. Cleveland Central High School), or taught by educated private tutors. Before looking at the daughters, consider the range of years when Mittleberger mothers might have been educated, as shown in the chart below. For example, if a woman's five-year-old attended Mittleberger School in 1877, the mother would have minimally been approximately 24 years of age, assuming

she married at 18, we'll allow a year for the pregnancy, and five years to raise the child. That puts the mother's birth at 1854. The mother of a 17-year-old senior in 1877, by the same conjecture, would have been born in 1841. Assigning an average of seven years as a beginning age for school, we can then table the approximate range of years the mother would likely have attended school, if indeed she did. We know that the academies predated 1850 in many states including Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and New England where many of the elite had come from, and that Cleveland had private schooling available, including the Cleveland Academy (under Guilford) and Cleveland Female Seminary (founded 1854). Looking at the column under "Mother's Education Years, Age 7-18, we see that even the mother of the first 17-year-old student in 1877 could have had access to academy or seminary education.

School Year	Child's age	Mother's Birth	Mother's Education Years, Age 7-18	Mother's 18 th Birthday
1877	5- year -old	1853	App. 1860-1872	1871
	17-year-old	1841	App. 1849-1860	1859
1885	5-year-old	1861	App. 1868-1880	1879
	17-year-old	1849	App. 1856-1868	1867
1895	5-year-old	1871	App. 1878-1890	1889
	17-year-old	1859	App. 1866-1878	1877
1905	5-year-old	1881	App. 1888-1900	1899
	17-year-old	1869	App. 1876-188	1887

Long before women were constitutionally guaranteed the vote, “schoolgirls” were leading, debating, making decisions, competing, serving, networking, managing and editing school papers, and running the business of clubs, teams, and service activities.⁴

Schooling changed the American girl. She had struggled within the “domestic sphere” until the male sphere needed her economically, to put it bluntly. Margaret Nash’s *Women’s Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (2005) detailed that long struggle through 1840, but ended her study with reports of the upturn for women beginning in the 1870s. Her Chapter 6, “Possibilities and Limitations” profiled the backlash against women in secondary and higher education when men, having suffered through strikes, recessions, and the decline in self-employment from the 1870s through the 1890s began to vocalize their fears that women would ignore the family, that the rigors of education could harm women’s ability to have children, and that coeducation could lead to either the masculinization of women, or the feminization of men. Economically, there was, too, the competition for jobs between men and women in some sectors. In some ways there was the worry over the definition of “manhood,” and so, according to Nash, this sea-change at the turn-of-the-century meant that women’s educational progress was still met with ridicule, injustice and difficulty after the acquisition of higher schooling.⁵

There had already been many milestones for women in education: as far back as 1870, the University of Michigan had accepted women; that same year Ellen Swallow was the first woman to attend the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1873 B. S., but was refused a doctorate in chemistry); Wellesley and Smith Colleges had opened in 1875, a day apart; Helen Magill was the first woman to receive a Ph.D in an American school in

1877 (doctorate in Greek at Boston University); and “Harvard Annex” admitted women in 1879, and became Radcliffe College in 1894. In fact, there were about 40,000 women in colleges, or 32 percent of all students in colleges by 1880, four times as many as in 1870. In 1900, some 85,000 women were in seminaries and colleges.⁶

As Solomon explained, this dynamic, changing society necessitated the need to bring women into higher education, releasing them from a role locked inside the family. Had men, and their loyal wives, she said, not feared what would happen if women held roles outside the family, the change would have occurred more widely.

As seen in our short review of women’s history, a number of women had already stepped outside (or never entered) the marital role expected in the nineteenth century. The effects of schooling did point to shifts in marriage patterns. A study on Mt. Holyoke graduates (1837-1850) showed they married later at median age 26, as compared to the general population who married at a median 21 years of age. Much like Augusta Mittleberger, “a considerable minority” of women never married, and among those college-educated women who did marry, many had fewer children.⁷ However, though we will see that several successful graduates of Mittleberger’s school did not marry, entering professional careers, it should be said that many female teachers left the profession when they married for what seemed “proprietary” reasons and the probable plans to raise a family. Many schools required teachers to retire when they married. Teaching was not considered a glamorous career, nor was it a highly paid position. Hunter believed that teaching was the subtext for so many women who entered high schools after the mid-century, but parents, especially elites, looked on this “working for wages” as a temporary back-up until marriage. Regardless of the ridicule and incidents of unfairness as regarded

admissions, access to courses or programs, the public criticism by educators and men of science, young women continued to pursue high school education, teacher training, and college education.⁸

As evidenced in the offerings of the Mittleberger School curriculum, efforts to encourage and prepare girls for college were in place by 1877, and, as Mittleberger stated in her catalogues, the school would adapt as needed, and did so. In light of the previous discussion, what can we see as the profile of a typical Mittleberger student as a Victorian schoolgirl living in a culture of such change? Should we expect the aforementioned repressed voice, the duty-driven “prisoner” of the patriarchal family, the “chlorotic” sickly girl so prevalent in Victorian times and literature, or the husband/marriage hunter? And will this study differ radically in the answers to these and other questions, given that the subjects are not Hunter’s northeastern middle class girls, but the daughters of upper middle class and upper class Cleveland and mid-western girls?

Using the 1889-1908 records of the school’s literary journal/newspaper, written and published by students, we have the opportunity to analyze the “voices” of a representative nine years of Mittleberger girls. The years just happen to be the “cusp of change” period discussed, but there are some caveats in gauging the import of these “voices.” These girls had privilege, opportunities to travel, and many went home to the comforts of opulent mansions in the corridors of wealth, and power, of the industrial Cleveland elite. They were almost all Protestant (church attendance and family connection revealed this), all Caucasian, native-born, and were for the most part used to public attention and or newspaper coverage. They may have attended the Mittleberger School anywhere from one year to fourteen years (the kindergarten program encouraged

enrollment at the age of four—student Catherine Tracy attended fourteen years). Furthermore, the girls in evidence included only those who wrote/edited the paper, and those students and teachers, and others, about whom the *Interlude* staff wrote. There were, however, many references to individual students, faculty, alumnae, speakers and lecturers, civic and church leaders, and groups of students. While there was no formal journalism course, there was a faculty supervisor, mentioned in various issues, but whose name does not appear in any of the mastheads (staff list) of the 18 volumes; typically issues were issued monthly. The collection is not complete; issues are missing at Western Reserve Historical Society and Laurel School, and it is likely that some months' issues may never have been produced, given some of the calamities of weather and any other incident that may have caused the school to close within any given month. The volume/number system was not clearly explained—there is a Volume 1, and there is a Volume 18, and most of the volumes in-between extant. However, though the editor stated that the journal/paper published nine months a year; that would mean 81 monthly issues over nine years. Though not clearly marked, publication was more likely by “term.” The final caveat would obviously be that students made mistakes, and occasionally lacked clarity!

Let us turn, having registered caveats, to what was a rather sophisticated piece of journalism. Applying some 40 questions to analyze this material, one would have to ask first if these girls had much knowledge or experience with publishing news and literary work. We know from Chapter 4 that Cleveland's Central High School published a student paper in its early years, and that girls eventually worked on *The Schoolboy* before 1850. We know from the *Interlude* that the staff exchanged papers with colleges and

other schools, and published brief news items under a regular section entitled “Exchanges.” We can surmise that these girls were newspaper-literate based on the quality of their written work and the schooling they had received thus far, and the Mittleberger catalogue mentions discussions of current events as part of the everyday curriculum, most likely through Cleveland’s newspapers, especially the Democratic *Plain Dealer* and the Republican *Leader*.⁹

The ownership of or conflict with these papers connected with many of Cleveland’s leaders, and thus tied with many of the Mittleberger families. We can also only assume that students would have followed the Hayes and Garfield presidential campaigns in the local papers, as both Presidents’ daughters attended the school, though criticism against Garfield was particularly vehement in the *Plain Dealer*. Most notably, *Plain Dealer* owner Liberty Holden sent his three daughters to Mittleberger School; we will see that Roberta Holden was a fine writer for the *Interlude*.¹⁰

As for female role models, the *Interlude* girls may have read of Clevelander Gertrude Van Rensselaer Wickham, who, widowed at 25, was asked by the editor of the Sunday *Post* to write a weekly column. She was the first woman to hold an editorial position on a Cleveland paper. She wrote about fashion for the Cleveland *Herald* in 1878, and later joined the *Cleveland Leader* in 1881, when it merged with the *Herald*, writing about charitable activities and needy women and children. She also drew letters for discussion in her columns. She left the *Leader* in 1884, but gained more fame through her historical writings, particularly *Pioneer Families of the Western Reserve*. She was also one of the founders of the Women’s Press Club in 1886, later the Cleveland Writer’s Club. Wickham, too, was a part of Cleveland elite families. Since Linda Thayer

Guilford was known to attend the writers' group, it is possible that Mittleberger may have known Wickham and her circle. Ella Grant Wilson, whose florist shop served many of the elite Cleveland homes, and particularly the Mittleberger School for its commencements and socials, was the *Plain Dealer's* gardening/floral columnist in the 1880s and 1890s, who later wrote the history of Euclid Avenue in two volumes (1932 and 1937). We can say that the *Interlude* girls had at least the opportunities within their cultural history and environment to have understood the journalism process, given the absence of a formal course. The college exchange papers may have been the most hands-on look as to how to go about producing their publication.¹¹

The *Interlude* changed directorial hands several times as each year a senior editor-in-chief took the reigns, beginning in 1889. The selection process was not revealed, but the masthead stated that the new editor had definitely been on the staff the previous (her junior) year. No particular position the year before favored the promotion to editor; some editors had managed columns, some were excellent writers besides editors, some were involved in the business end of things. For example, Grace Upman, class of '92 leads the list of editors in the May, 1891, no. 7 issue, yet again in the February, 1892, no. 4 issue, obviously serving a second year. She had, in her junior year, written the lead, full-page story, signed with her initials. This was a non-fiction account taken from an interview with a freshman who recounted his hazing at an unnamed college. It was written as a first-person thrilling tale about the fellow's torments, including a mock "burial" that had caused him to faint. A short note hoped that such hazing was a thing of "By-Gone College Days," the title given the story. Because the *Interlude* served as a literary journal

and a “newspaper,” the content balanced such vehicles, but not in any consistent order, meaning not much attention was paid to design or layout; no art was visible.¹²

The May, '91 issue was only five pages, including ads. Its second page contains the masthead, and set the subscription rate at .75 cents a year, “strictly in advance,” and advertising at .50 cents an inch per month, \$3.50 per annum. The page contains a poem copied from the Yale Lit. of April, 1888, a brooding nature poem by Arthur Willis Colton, and blurbs promoting one of the staff’s contest winning stories, some business blurbs, and the “Personals” column compiled by Kate Burnham, '92. It contains 12 items, five of which told of student and neighborhood travels and visits, two announced the Senior-Junior Dance and a dinner dance for the cooking class (four of the six members’ names mentioned were on the *Interlude* staff); two covered special classroom lecturers, and one announced the next “Rhetoricals” to be held in May—again appeared the names of four *Interlude* staff members. Concluding the page is the first half of a short story attributed to “W. I. P.,” titled “1791” a revolutionary scenario, in media res, starring as its central character, George Washington. Staff member Kate W. Burnham’s second place story was a truly representative Victorian story with motherless girls, a restrictive, unyielding father whom the Miss Kate dispatches through paralysis and death when the father rejects Mary’s intended. The story ends with a literary caveat not to wait for your man, or you will end up alone, pining for your own death. The story was quite pathetic, but very typical of Victorian themes.¹³

This early issue ended with a column which appeared often in the *Interlude* issues, simply referred to as “College Notes.” However, four of the seven “notes” referred to news of male colleges including Lehigh University, Johns Hopkins

University, Yale and Harvard Universities. One item covered the school tennis club activities at Mittleberger (two of five names mentioned are staffers), and one reported on the Adelbert Dramatic Club. To its credit, this early issue included a large paragraph in “College Notes” on the history of the first regular college for women—Elmira Female College. Completing the page were ads for I. D. Barrett Ladies, Tailor Shop and Thomas Davis’ shoe store. The final page of the issue holds 12 advertisements in various sizes ½-inch to 3 inches in several display fonts.¹⁴

One such ½-inch ad promotes “Miss Whittlesey, Artist” at her studio, 1020 Prospect Street—orders executed, lessons given.” Whittlesey was on the Mittleberger School faculty for 20 years, but the ad proves Mittleberger allowed Whittlesey some entrepreneurial leeway to work from the school building. Another ad of interest was that of Larwood and Day advertising “For ladies—Indian Clubs, Dumb Bells, Chest Weights,” etc., further proof of the interest in physical culture for women, so espoused in Anna Brackett’s *The Education of American Girls* (1874), the gymnasium movement, and Mittleberger’s catalogue (the only place we can hear her “voice,” besides in her will).¹⁵

Overall, this earliest of available issues seems reflective of earlier Victorian girls. The staff played it safe, issuing a publication which told stories typical of Victorian literature themes, reported a great deal about the interest and activities of the male world, including a fearful look at campus life, and presented a poem from a sighing, male poet. Though it did promote some women’s educational history and the interest in the exercise movement, it does not seem that the girls had found their “voice” yet, compared to later issues. What was glaring was the self-indulgence of so much attention paid to the staffers

and their interests. Ironically, that poor journalistic behavior might just have been the bold, though conceited voice of girls no longer tied to the modesty of their predecessors. There was visible growth, maturity, and tact in later issues, though other adolescent behaviors were in evidence, and it was quite possible, depending on who advised that year, that the issue may have been tightly controlled by a supervisor, though it seemed odd to overlook the egotism of the staffers.

Interlude Volume 2, no. 4, February, 1892 revealed an expanded 12 pages of content and back cover ads. The bound, booklet-size publication has the school address, the motto “Dux Femina Facti,” and a young girl’s face within a very artistic Victorian scrollwork. However, the content pages were without art, masses of single-spaced type separated by thin bar lines and small headlines to indicate changes in content. The issue was visually difficult to read in its long, often unbroken, two columns per page. Following a Table of Contents, titles only and two half-page ads, one again from Larwood & Day Co. promoting “home exercises and physical culture apparatus, and one from Shaw’s, Dealer in Cloaks, Millinery, Corsets, Hosiery, and Fancy Goods there appeared a full-page ad from The Burrows Brothers Company which promoted large dictionaries and a five-volume “Unrivaled” *History of the World*, by Israel Smith Clare. Of interest is the display line “These works are sold on Easy Monthly Payments,” indicating the availability of credit at the popular bookstore.¹⁶

The opening content page first exudes the enthusiasm over the running and gymnasium exercises, and a wistful blurb on how more students would take woodcarving from Mr. Madsen if programs were not so full. The third blurb expresses relief that exams are over, and a large, second-column paragraph explains the “Senior reviews”—

that seniors could not receive a diploma until they reviewed geography, English grammar and arithmetic and passed an examination in each. Beginning with a paragraph on the lower right page, an unnamed writer then defined the roles of “The United States Cabinet,” so titled. It also references “Windrow” Wilson’s book, *Congressional Government*. While not wanting to disparage the young writer’s integrity, the densely-written enumeration of cabinet member duties seemed largely “lifted” as we say today, and though almost all other contributions were signed with the writers’ initials, this contribution was not. It certainly was informative.¹⁷

Next appeared a poem contributed by “H. L. C.” entitled “Her Beauty” which extolled the virtues of a pretty, but very polite young girl as she shopped the city street. The rest of page four and five report on national literary works and authors under the title “Talk of the Day,” which must have come from newspaper sources, as they reference Walt Whitman, Benjamin Disraeli, and Emily Dickinson. There followed a local connection, as the writer excerpted an article written in the *Christian Union* by the Reverend Wayland Hoyt (Mittleberger’s cousin), a tribute to the late Charles H. Spurgeon.¹⁸

Page 6’s left column contained “Personals,”-- all reports of travels, visits, club meetings, and the fact that Miss Mittleberger had arranged for Miss Whittlesey to form a course of lectures on Greek Art and the Italian Renaissance to begin that year and continue through the next. The staff ran a list of scheduled Rhetoricals and the young ladies who would give them, and ran the budget items and activities of the service club, “The Happy Thought Society.” The \$26.50 budget was itemized to the penny, indicating the organization prepared or purchased Sunday dinners for the poor, provided

Thanksgiving dinners, bought toys for the Charity Kindergarten, bought books for the hospital, and gave some monies to poor families, all in the Fall term.¹⁹

On page 7, the recurring column “College Notes” was again devoted to news of men’s colleges; only one item of 11 reported that 300 ladies attended a lecture on American Literature given by Professor Gilmore at the University of Rochester, and said the college men present “greeted the ladies with a new co-education cheer.” Though the following item was a copy of an address given to George Washington by the citizens of New York to mark the upcoming February birthday of Washington, the editors report that the author of the address was Thomas Tucker, great-grandfather of one of their Mittleberger faculty. They also printed Washington’s response.²⁰

The next item was submitted by “E. R. C.” and placed on pages 8-10. Titled “Betty—A Tale of St. Valentine’s Day,” it was beautifully written in clean, tight prose, and, thankfully, lacked the usual flowery language of the time. It was a simple tale of a nine-year old who reunites her sister with a formerly-rejected beau who had always sent the little sister a valentine. Alas, she realized his valentines would be delivered to her older sister again, but maybe not to herself; she is content. “A. E. C.” then offered a short essay on the quality of “sympathy,” and how mothers always seem to excel in that quality.²¹

The final pages end with another recurring column entitled “Ethical and Logical.” It was a strange title; the editors printed that some would have called the column “School Items,” but the staffers liked their choice. The content included the printing of “excellent” primary compositions written after the poem “Brave Hector” had been read to classes. Finally there was some discussion on the difficulty of examinations, and

compliments on the grades of students in the academic department who had received marks of “100” for the half-year. The four students were named. Advertising filled the remainder of page 12 and the inside back cover.²²

This issue represented an expansion of the *Interlude* publication, and was, in some ways an improvement over the 1891 issue discussed previously. The writing is better, the search for national news items is more extensive, and the problem with touting the interests of the staffers seems to have vanished. Maybe the girls were chastised for such behavior, as this was an obvious turnaround for the publication. The focus on male college activities, and little investigation into women’s higher education given the Mittleberger college preparatory program, was still troubling. However, this issue made it clear that Mittleberger students were involved in benevolent activities, and embraced the physical culture movement. Both issues reviewed lacked creativity—much was reprinted, which suggests a certain journalistic laziness, given the dynamic times these girls lived in, and their access to major figures just within their own, elite circle. Let us investigate the publication in 1894, to see if we find girls changed by schooling, more creative, and more independent of the need to report so much on male-oriented activities. Having scrutinized two early volumes and discovered the overall structure and intent of the publication, it will not be necessary to discuss item placement of the succeeding issues. We will, however, note any significant changes in the content, the elements that profile the Victorian girl of the mid-nineties in respective issues, and note the revelation of socio-cultural details of school life at the Mittleberger School.

By the November, 1894 issue (Volume 5, no. 1) the *Interlude* staff had an office to themselves in the “Octagon,” Room No. 8, which had been the “German Room near,

the schoolroom.” Staffers hung exchanges on a wire which stretched across one end of the room, and hung the 1892 class picture on the wall. They also had placed a box on the editors’ desk in which to drop contributions, and, in this issue, requested that teachers and students make notes on school events and submit them to the *Interlude*. That request became a regular appeal in following issues, and the term “paper” was used to describe the publication more often than the occasional “school journal.” The office appeared a business-like environment—no mention of Victorian décor or feminine dressings. Stating that the *Interlude* was in its fifth year, staffers produced a decidedly different and improved content from earlier issues. No. 1 contained a sophisticated, well-researched travelogue on “Five Cities in Spain,” by C. H. W., who reviewed the history and art of Spain. The travelogue was a popular turn-of-the-century literary format, and later issues regularly ran reports of the Mittleberger girls’ travels, each seemingly written with obvious personal research.²³

It was obvious, too, that a particularly talented group of girls were writing and managing the paper; the full masthead, which was modestly displayed on page 14 ran as follows: Editor-in-Chief, Carrie Gardner Abbot ’95; Business Manager, Ella May White ’95; Assistant Business Manager and Exchange Editor, Julia Root Cobb ’95; Mabel Mildred Fry ’95; Louise Mason Ingersoll ’95; Grace Chamberlain Sargent ’96; and Ethel Greenough ’97, a group largely made up of seniors. Mention was made that former staffer Emerie Holden (another *Plain Dealer* daughter) had left for two years in Germany. Her “Ten Twenty News” column was now compiled by Ethel Greenough, and Ingersoll compiled the “Ethical and Logical” column, both regular features throughout

the remaining years. Having kept the subscription rate several years at \$1.00, single issues now sold for .15 cents.²⁴

This issue showed a clear shift to interest in higher education, and women's colleges, as the staff exchanged with Smith, Vassar, Wellesley and others. There was a change in style and tone; the paper's coverage is more inclusive, more personable, and more focused on the Mittleberger girls, not so many outside male figures, nor college men's activities. True, there were still reports of Harvard's President Eliot urging students to better apportion their time—10 hours for studying, eight hours for sleep, two for exercise, one for social duties, and three hours for meals—this prescription borrowed from the *S. U. Z. Quill*. On one occasion the writer used the term “screwed up,” possibly an attempt to paraphrase. This term came as a surprise, and appeared rather unseemly for that (or any other) school publication. It was the only example found in any issue where editors used any form of vulgar street language. It is not clear if the editor did the paraphrasing, or she simply copied the *S. U. Z. Quill* exchange item.²⁵

Throughout the volume 5, no. 1 issue were personal, cultural references, efforts to let the school body and the public know the Mittleberger schoolgirls as individuals, i. e. that there were seven girls named “Mary” in the boarding department, that the staff missed the “happy-go-lucky past, and prim, immaculate present is too much for us (L. A. K.).” This latter sentiment, while it might have been an anxious moment over oncoming adulthood, doesn't seem extraordinary, but typical of most juniors and seniors about to leave school life, though women, even wealthy women, did face uncertain futures pursuing higher education in those days, according to Solomon, Hunter, and Nash.²⁶

The staff welcomed new math instructor Miss Katherine Livingstone from the University of Chicago, named and welcomed the new boarding students, and expressed condolences to Celia Thaxter's mother on the death of her daughter and signed it "Yours in hero worship, E. A. H. S." (unidentifiable). They reported Isabel Adams as ill, but did not specify the cause. All the issues were inconsistent as to reporting cause of illness, though in some cases it was mentioned, such as scarlet fever. However, it should be noted some illnesses were considered private, inappropriate to report and possibly an embarrassment to elite families if the disease was more a part of "poor" or working class conditions. Some diseases were a part of famous romanticized works. In other words, say some historians, one could be Camille, or Alcott's "Beth," but not a victim of anything associated with the crowded slums.²⁷

There were many references to travel as a means of furthering studies, especially summer study as regarded faculty members: "Miss Mittleberger in Normandy; the French teacher "Miss Jardinier in Switzerland," "Miss Lubbers in Germany," "Miss Whittlesey returning from two years travel and study in Europe," etc. More often than in past years, the *Interlude* appeared to specify the circumstances for student travel, mentioning more about extra lessons in language, lecture attendance, and participation in the circle of clubs and interest groups that had, for decades, been a large boon to women's education. The 1894 pages were warm, friendly, and reflected the closeness of school members. "Robbie" Holden sent flowers to the girls from Loch Hame (the Holden family estate on Lake Erie east) and her sister Emerie "lunched with the girls October 12, before leaving for Germany."²⁸

This is an issue which reflected a more energized school culture; the physical culture and comraderie expanded with the coming of the bicycle: “the rage, skimming down East Prospect,” and the excursions out into the community—“the Primary Department had a picnic in the woods of Collamer.” There was a fresh, new appearance of humor, as an occasional joke was printed: “Why is a tailor likely to be a successful lover? Because he is good at pressing a suit.” And one other interest was mentioned several times, a popular one of that time--birds, birds in art, and birding. Special mention was made of the collection of birds at Vassar College: “The collection of birds at Vassar is supposed to be the largest in the world, valued at \$30,000.” Students also printed nature poems with bird themes passed on from *The Smith College Monthly*. It was very much the style to incorporate birds, doves, and eagles into the artwork of the time, and certainly bird imagery was popular in music lyrics, literary metaphors, and who could forget the “bird in a gilded cage” reference often used for the Victorian elite girl.²⁹

Significantly, staffers turned their attention to women’s colleges for news in this issue. They exchanged with Smith, Vassar, and Amherst, and possibly other women’s schools, as it is difficult to identify some of the sponsor schools by the exchange titles alone. A very positive editorial move appeared on page 15, where the editor asked for letters to be sent from Mittleberger alumnae attending Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. The list of exchange papers included: *The Brunonian*, *The Rose Technic*, *The College Folio*, *The Vassar Miscellany*, *S. U. I. Quill*, *The Integral*, *The Amherst Student*, *Lasell Leaves*, *The Tuftonian*, *The University Courier*, *The Adelbert*, *The Helios*, *The University Chronicle*, *The Earlhamite*, the *Trinity Tablet*, and others.³⁰

The school community service group, “The Happy Thought Society (THTS)” was well-covered, listing the names of officers elected at the October 8, 1894 meeting. It was apparent that the group had expanded its interest in charity work to New York the previous summer, whether for learning purposes, donation, or both. “E. B.” visited the Cherry Vale School in New York on behalf of the Mittleberger service group. Cherry Vale provided a two-day vacation to working girls, chosen by the Working Girls’ Society in New York. The “Cottage” there held 32 girls. “E. B.” was most likely the newly-elected vice-president of THTS, Emma Beatty.³¹

This was an issue that proved the girls had established a voice proud of the Mittleberger School, and generously, not selfishly reported on its “family,” reaching out to alumnae and women’s colleges. The issue was creative, inclusive, and energetic in its newsgathering; it contains little of the haughtiness or mean-spirited remarks as in earlier issues, e. g. where an isolated remark urged a particular girl to use “anti-fat cream.” It ran the educational travelogue, but did not “fill” its pages with dull, textbook-like reprints. Its tone was informative and caring, not pedantic or “finger-wagging.” However, it was apolitical; the only controversial topic taken up in the ’91, ’92, or ’94 issues was that of college hazing. This issue reported that the Governor of New York had signed a bill abolishing such practices. While reported, there was no commentary, even though the topic had been mentioned at least two or three times over the years. There was no evidence to prove these girls were ever told to stay away from political or economic matters. While not a “fluffy, feminine” publication, it still did not enter into the serious issues of the day, nor specific contemporary women’s issues of the late 1800s, though we know Susan B. Anthony and others had been touting them nearly 50 years—

women's rights, temperance, domestic violence, coeducation, etc. For that matter the *Interlude* was not a vehicle for debating much of any issue since its 1889 inception. Though the staffers were finding a stronger voice in the sharing of peer culture and school community, and maturing in their journalistic skills, neither their journalism nor their fiction embraced the outside world—they simply reported the ventures made out into it. The staffers seemed confused at times about their role at the time, for in every point of progress, there was also the self-deprecation. Witness the two poems appearing in this issue 1 and 2 offered by “R. T. M.” and the *University Chronicle*, respectively:

**“Oh! Woman is a thoughtless thing,
Her shallowness I fear for.
The only thing she can reflect,
Is when before the mirror.”³²**

They Differed

**“Oh, would I were a bird” she sang
And each disgusted one
Thought to himself the wicked thought,
“Oh, would I were a gun!”³³**

Available for study were issues 1-4 of Volume 5. Issue 2 (December, 1894) follows the established pattern of reporting on travels and visits, i.e. “Nellie Rockefeller has just returned from Kansas” (daughter of Frank Rockefeller, brother of John D. Rockefeller); “Alice Everett in Europe since May.” However, the two travelogues “Russia and the Nihilists” (“E.L.R.”) and “The Emperor of China” did voice negative opinions of both countries’ politics, and the latter piece was quite critical of “Tien-Stein, the Emperor of the Celestial Empire, by “E. F.” Here, then, was a political voice, though directed towards international targets. Both articles explained the governmental structure of both countries, and were aware that both were anti-capitalists. The writing appeared original, not “lifted.” It is of note that these girls would have had family and community sources, with experience in those countries, to consult; however, no such sources are ever mentioned.³⁴

Important in this issue, though, was the reporting of elite connections in other activities with the school. Speakers included Dr. Taylor of Vassar College, who visited November 23, 1894. He laid great emphasis on the fact that “higher education increases the usefulness of women,” and reminded them: “Many girls now have a better education than their mothers, therefore, just so much more is expected of them.” “Miss Norton,” Principal of the Art School, art gallery owner “Mr. Olney,” and prominent artists attended a studio reception given by Mittleberger art teacher Caroline Whittlesey; local professors appeared frequently as lecturers/speakers, i.e. Professor H. H. Boyesen, who spoke on “Victor Hugo.” Whether or not these people appeared gratis was not in evidence, though an elite, well-to-do local professor seems unlikely to have charged a local girls’ school for an occasional lecture.³⁵

There seems a forward progress in the December, 1894 issue, an understanding of the importance of women and higher learning. Interest in women's history became more obvious, for example it was reported that the debate class that term debated over who was the greater Queen—Elizabeth or Maria Theresa. The issue's editorial was devoted to thoughts on higher education: "Nowhere, we think, can we discover what is best in us so well as in college. In our school, it is cause for congratulation that so many girls are preparing themselves to enter a higher course of study."³⁶

Interest in sports, competition, and sports-related social activities was apparent in this issue, as the girls reported the school "wanted basketball," and editors felt they should "write to Smith for instructions." Miss Mittleberger, assisted by teachers, entertained the pupils of the Intermediate Department at a "Fairy Bowling party," November 23, in the gymnasium, and there are frequent mentions throughout this and other mid-to-late 1890s issues of skating, sleighing, walking, tennis, basketball, tether ball on the front lawn, and many gymnasium activities.³⁷

While here-to-fore mentioned infrequently, health issues were a larger part of the January, 1895 no. 3 issue in Volume 5 of *The Interlude*. Twenty-three of the Academic Department (most years the largest department, the typical 9th through 12th grades, about 85 students) were wearing glasses, the subject of a short article, and "Mary Hancock" had been out ill since November (two months, but that would have included the Christmas break). It was also reported that "Josephine Chisholm" had been out six weeks "on account of trouble with her eyes." Kindergarten teacher "Miss Fuller" had become ill, along with so many children, that the program would not open until March; again the illness was not explained.³⁸

It was the first time *The Interlude* had revealed details about the school buildings—the need for a mousetrap in the main house, and the run on the water tanks in the boarding department which held 29 girls that January, competing for water at 8:30 a.m. every morning. There was some subtle teasing concerning “Bridget’s” coffee-making. Since servants were often referred to by group as “Bridgets” in those times (so many Irish female servants), it is not clear if this was the domestic’s name, or a class reference from a patronizing staffer.³⁹

Otherwise, issue no. 3 seemed a quiet winter which reported the creation of “The Graduate Association” and an alumnae organization. Of note was the reporting of John D. Rockefeller having given five million dollars to the University of Chicago, and an additional million for two new law buildings. Lighter news included an article written by alumnus Millicent Olmsted, class of 1890, who profiled the latest toys, amusements, and gifts of the season, including the very popular little brown bears, stick pins, books, purses, card-cases, note-paper, rubber stamps, rag dolls, spoons, and paper dolls in “Brownies, Brownies, Everywhere.” (“Teddy bears” would replace the term come Roosevelt days.)⁴⁰

Socially, the “tea” was very much in vogue, and mentioned frequently. Louise Ingersoll (staffer) and her family hosted several at her home, including the Senior-Junior Tea; Miss McIntosh gave a tea over Christmas vacation, and Miss Lillian Burnett, assisted by Miss Elizabeth Sturtevant gave a New Year’s Day tea, for example. Traditionally, well-to-do Cleveland families, particularly those on Euclid Avenue, held open house for “callers,” providing lavish spreads and, according to local diaries, made for worries and hopes for a good showing—sometimes in the hundreds of callers. It was a

practice given much coverage by the local press a bit tongue-in-cheek, as though the whole business was a contest.⁴¹

Moving on to the 1895-1896 Volume 6, we find aggressive writing and format under the hand of Editor-in-Chief Virginia Wing, class of '99, sister of Marie Wing, who would later be Cleveland's first councilwoman. This issue is referred to as an "Alumnae Edition," and '94 graduate Roberta Holden was given four pages to discuss "Where Are The Mothers?," an excellent piece on a literary topic—she took on the issue of how English and American writers repeatedly committed "woman slaughter," consistently killing off one or the other of parents, particularly the mothers of heroines. Holden would have been barely 19 or 20, but her talent at literary review was obvious, and *The Interlude* gave her the deserved space to showcase what a "Mittleberger girl" could do. The article was a strong indication of a rejection of the long years of sentimental, self-sacrificing themes in Victorian literature. Holden reviewed major writers Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, William Thackeray, George Meredith, and Rudyard Kipling in particular, and was aghast at the characters (she named them) made orphans. She astutely pointed out that "the heroine is almost always an only child," and criticized "the clouds of parricidal gloom that overhung the majority of novels."⁴²

Specifically, Holden reviewed Dickens' *David Copperfield*—"in fourteen of his novels there are twenty-four motherless heroes and heroines, eleven complete orphans and four with mothers only." Holden named nine of Scott's "long list of malefactions," saying nine "have none of them any mothers in evidence."⁴³

Holden felt women writers had not treated women characters any better—"as a class they are almost as pitiless as the men." She cited the "criminal record" of George

Eliot, listing several major and lesser characters—“No one is equipped with a full set of parents.” Holden concludes her critical review with positives for Jane Austen and Nathaniel Hawthorne, though she qualified her thoughts on Hawthorne’s “half-human heroines,” saying it would be difficult to assess them. She found so many orphans and so many parent deaths, particularly that of women to be unrealistic, unnecessary, and absurd. Here, then, was a strong “voice” resisting nearly a century of American and British “Romanticism” (i.e. Jane Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), Dickens’ *Oliver Twist* (1836); the best-selling American domestic novels of Susan Warner (Elizabeth Wetherell) *The Wide, Wide World* (1850).⁴⁴

Holden was, by any teacher’s measure, certainly well-read, and was an excellent writer. Her essay is well-researched, filled with examples, well-articulated, and clear and strong in her opinions. She wrote with quiet humor, and indicated a certain sophistication in the choice of her writers. Though she had graduated in ’94, this was the strongest voice in *The Interlude* in its six-year history.

The Mittleberger girls had access to bookstores, freedom to shop, and lived in a culture where books were a common, popular, appropriate gift—a great deal of advertising in local papers for decades dwelt on the popular works of the day, and bookstores appeared in the advertising pages of *The Interlude*, though always of a serious nature—textbooks, dictionaries, histories—the school ads were never a forum for promoting popular genres like the series books, domestic novels, and certainly not the dime novels (around since the 1860s) or comic books (around since the mid-1870s).⁴⁵ The diaries of several Cleveland women mentioned the giving of books to friends—Mrs. Fred Sterling had noted in her diary the book she purchased at Christmas time, 1875 for

the elder Mrs. Mittleberger.⁴⁶ All issues referred to the literary news, much of which was extracted from the college exchange papers, but the staffers always reported the literature activities of the school--the paper variously reported the summer reading lists, the class readings, and often printed the compositions on literature submitted by all departments.

The other editorial in this November, 1895 issue, unsigned, but probably the work of Editor-in-Chief, Virginia Wing, revealed the more typical Victorian theme of self-improvement, stating it was a good idea that “ideals grow, otherwise one might choose not to work if too satisfied.” She called for pursuing ideals, “so we wouldn’t say, ‘We are Mittleberger girls, what more can you ask?’” Exuding pride and enthusiasm, she finished her exhortation: “Let us then consider whether our lives are worthy ones for loyal Alumnae of a splendid school; and if we unhappily find ourselves wanting, spur forward into the front rank and show the judging world that the name of courageous, achieving woman is synonymous with “Middleberger graduate.” One can most assuredly hear the stirring rhetoric of a future political activist.⁴⁷

This issue followed the pattern set the year before, in running the usual columns, travel features, and coverage of school activities. However, one feature may have said something about the school’s sense of security in its urban setting—though newspapers reported crimes, roving gangs, labor issues, and all kinds of urban turmoil at the time, *The Interlude* printed a three-page list of the entire student body roster, *including home addresses*. Though this may have been a means of promotion, showing just *who* was in attendance, it seemed odd in terms of security, given the names of children and grandchildren of very wealthy, powerful families. Then again, the Cleveland Social Registry obviously listed the families’ addresses, too.⁴⁸

What was useful was the profile these pages gave, in that the list identified 222 children enrolled in five departments: Academic (84); Preparatory (32); Intermediate (16); Primary (52); and Kindergarten (38). Boys, allowed to attend to the fourth grade, numbered 26 total in the Primary and Kindergarten lists. There were 28 out-of-town girls in the Academic Department and three out-of-town Preparatory students for a total of what would presumably have been 31 “boarding” students (another year mentioned 29 boarders). These 31 girls would have been 7th through 12th grade girls. There were no younger children listed as out-of-town. We have no way of knowing from this list if students might have been from elsewhere, but lived with Cleveland relatives. Of the 191 local residents that year, 39 students lived on what was considered the higher-status Euclid Avenue; 28 lived on Prospect; and 16 lived on Case Avenue. We can discern, then, that 83 of the local residents lived on these three, closely connected streets, and the remaining 108 local students came from numerous, but mostly urban central streets, the farthest coming from Wilson Avenue (East 55th), and one from the Glenville area (northeast by the lake, near University Circle). Most were delivered by carriage, and some took the street car. We know that Miss Mittleberger looked after the safety of those girls, when, in 1901 she asked the city street car service to provide a private street car for the school girls from Mittleberger (other private schools such as Laurel shared this), but the public was not pleased, and so the service lasted only a short time. Apparently the request was made originally due to men staring at the girls, and the unhealthy smoking conditions.⁴⁹

Moving on, *The Interlude* of 1896-1897 published at least eight monthly issues; if there was a seventh issue, it is not available at WRHS or Laurel School. However, under

the editorial direction of Ethel Greenough, class of '97, came exciting news in the November, 1896 issue in the "1020" school news column--seniors were allowed to go downtown *unchaperoned*, and two *Interlude* girls were able to solicit ads downtown. As Hunter reported, this kind of freedom changed the American girl. The issues, the most of any year in seven years were extremely energized compared to the early 90s—the Juniors and Seniors competed in basketball, competed in gymnastics, collected buttons for the 1896 election, expressed fond memories of sleighing with Miss Smith, and house girls in German class learned how to knit from Miss Luebbers. Mrs. Warner and Mrs. Campbell gave descriptions of the free nurseries and kindergartens of Cleveland, and December the Happy Thought Society had purchased dolls for one of the free kindergartens in Cleveland. The house girls attended a reception at the Home for Aged Women on Kennard Street. They proudly reported that Miss Sigrid Ruth, M. G. instructor of Swedish Gymnastics at "1020" had received a letter from Acting General Secretary for the Ladies' International Association, Paris, London, and New York, stating that Ruth had been named to the "Council of Twenty" and Chairman of the Department of Physical Culture, to be represented at the 1900 World Fair. They also seemed thrilled that Miss Whittlesey was exhibiting her water colors in her own studio at 508 Cedar Avenue.⁵⁰

On the wall of *The Interlude* office that year was "Garfield's proverb" as a stimulus to editors—"Things don't turn up in this world unless somebody turns them up." The news was exciting, as *The Interlude* began running accounts of where graduates had gone: "Misses Babcock, Sargent, Studley, Maynard and Hancock are at Smith. Miss Burdick is attending Miss Capen's school in Northhampton. Miss Poppleton is at Vassar, Miss Vivian Maynard is at the Woman's College in this city. Miss Sampliner, after a

summer of traveling abroad, is taking French and music at home. Miss Harper is in Zanesville, studying German. Miss Sickels “isn’t doing anything.”⁵¹

There were one or two illnesses reported, more girls wearing glasses, a few injuries (“bad fall on the ice”), and some regrets at long-time “1020” girl Jean Chisholm leaving for Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, Connecticut, but otherwise the first two issues of that year were joyful and artful with the additions of anagrams, acrostics, puzzles, and quotations. They began to print the funny things reported from classes—In Grecian History Class: “Those who were killed were left to die on the way.” Reading at home, the Preparatory class was reading a daunting list: *Ivanhoe*, *Memoirs of Grant*, *Vanity Fair*, *Handsome Hume*, *Standish of Standish*, *Nurnberg Stove*, *Life of Washington*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Innocents Abroad*, *Prince and the Pauper*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Frederick the Great and his Court*, *Three Colonial Boys*, *The Graysons*, and the *Life of Mozart*. It is not clear if this is a list of choices, or requirements for the term or entire year; the report just says the class was reading this list at home. The report indicates the “College” girls were reading American authors (no listing), and “The girls taking college preliminary readings are being dragged through *Defoe’s History of the Plague*, and “Shakespeare.” Intermediate A class was reading Irving’s “Conquest of Granada,” and B class was reading a history of Charlemagne and his peers. Special mention was made of the Mittleberger School being the first in America to get the later volumes of a set of geographical science books, and an oak cabinet donated for specimens, an aquarium with rare plants and goldfish.⁵²

Other than mention of studying the constellations in the Intermediate Department, not much had been said about activities in science in past issues. However, the January,

1897 Issue no. 3 was filled with such references. Students Dorothea Lockwood, Mildred Potter, Marie Wing, Agnes Worthington, and Irma Squire all report on such things as cardboard experiments on incidental and refractive light, and studies on air. There were science speakers including naturalist James Lane Allen. The Mittleberger Alumnae Association was mentioned as having provided one speaker every year for the school's benefit, one of which was Edward Everett Hale. The girls were also pursuing advanced mathematics—"Linda Dellenbaugh and Helen Rockefeller are to be congratulated, having passed from the second year algebra class in to Junior class, which is doing advanced work."⁵³

Of particular interest is the essay written by the aforementioned Elizabeth Reeve Cutter, titled "A Tete a Tete," a conversation between her "college-self" and her "home-self." She was quite critical of the pretentiousness of her own social class. In this parody she tells of her college self thinking about the playacting of home-life—listening to boring people, calling on people just to cross off a list, putting up politely with people you cannot stand—a parody contrasting interesting college with the pretensions of elite home life. Though it was refreshing to see Cutter take a hard look at class practices, one wonders how she managed her life after marrying the ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow.⁵⁴

The last issues of spring, 1897 depicted a very physical, but studious group of girls. The school had now added dancing and fencing classes after school, visits to and from opera companies, and, significantly, interaction with University School, whose senior boys invited both Mittleberger and Hathaway Brown girls to a February 12 luncheon, and later, dances. Polling students on what was considered the "pleasantest

happenings of the school year,” the paper reported the sheet and pillow case party in the gymnasium on January 23 of that year, the “masks,” and dancing. The eighth issue of the year would list the class of '97—eleven girls, two of which would go to Smith.

Mittleberger's young cousin, Ethel Mittleberger graduated, summered in Chautauqua, and went to the Chicago Normal School in the fall. One would go to Miss Hersey's school in Boston, and the remaining seven students did not list their plans. Significantly, the June 8 commencement speaker, Dr. Fagnani of New York, professor in the Union Theological Seminary, delivered his address: “What Thinkest Thou of Thyself?” The *Interlude* editor, graduating Senior Ethel Greenough, must have been proud, as the publication under her hand had finally found a strong, inclusive, questioning, intellectual and public voice.⁵⁵

The following fall, September 23, 1897, the Mittleberger School for Girls opened for its 20th year since its 1877 days at the Croxden. That fall, five of its women faculty members were listed as having bachelor degrees; two had masters degrees. The school, greatly expanded by Rockefeller in the early 1890s, had stood at “1020” since late 1880, nearly 17 years. It would continue to grow and nurture the “1020” girls another eleven years.⁵⁶

Using the 1903, and 1906-1908 *Interlude* issues of volumes 12, 15, 16, and the final 18th volume (1908) as examples, it was apparent that staffers were much more opinionated, but still “one foot in sea, and one on shore” (Shakespeare), meaning both elements of the old and new Victorian turn-of-the-century girl were present within the pages of the *Interlude*. A perfect example of this was actually illustrated on the cover of the April, 1903 issue no. 6. On the left stands a girl in “1020” sports attire (pantaloon

style), “1020” emblazoned on her high-collar sports sweater, her sleeves rolled up. Hair piled up and high, her one hand in her pocket, she held a basketball in the other. Down the middle of the cover, vertically, read “The Interlude” in large, artful letters. But on the right side, hair down, stood a similar girl in full-length Victorian dress—a very feminine-looking girl, with one difference—she demurely held in her hands—a diploma.⁵⁷

The content of the issue proved this dual-role attitude—a near three-page story, “A Basketball Game” recounted the thrill of a Junior-Senior fictionalized women’s competition, yet its theme centered on two opposing players vying for the attentions of the ideal, athletic-looking young man in the gymnasium audience. The story was written by Olive Stewart. “The Mouse,” by Ethel Cuddy, followed the real faculty member “Miss Dennis” in an eight-stanza poem, and recounted the screams that came from the Senior Room—a mouse had sent the girls into a frenzy. A beautiful Victorian young woman in Easter hat with flowers in her hands illustrates the story “The Joys of Easter,” and her angst at waiting for the milliner to send the new Easter hat in time for “Jack” to accompany “Helen” to church. Helen is angered, petulant, and disappointed when windy, rainy weather began to spoil her plans even after the “agony” of waiting and finally receiving the hat. Her self-centered behavior was rewarded by the arrival of a note—Jack had the mumps, and would not be taking her to church after all. It was a short morality tale, chastising pride and vanity, and typical of the self-improvement culture of the time.⁵⁸

“A Classical Conversation” was a somewhat caustic teasing of Seniors, a banter between a junior and a senior reading Cicero, followed by a poetical 15 stanzas of unflattering verses which named, apparently, real senior girls. Published in April after the

Easter vacation, the issue smacked of typical junior-senior class rivalry, though dutiful attention was paid to reporting school events—primary class plays and cast lists and such, there was a change in the “voice” of the publication, as is typical of staff changes throughout any publication’s history. This issue was very sarcastic, much less academic, and, frankly, mean-spirited. The exchange issues were criticized: “’Tis meet that we admire the *Tabular*’s cover of butcher’s paper. Alas, it is more ornamental than durable,” and “the essay on “Slang” in the February number of the *Quill* is extremely instructive, but the many typographical errors detract from its dignity.” One can forgive the young exchange editor, but it is not to the paper’s credit that several ungracious remarks were made about other school papers.⁵⁹

Even the issue’s editorial questioned the “loyalty” of alumnae who did not think about the school, or subscribe to the paper. While recognizing that the paper must represent the school, the writer complained that the paper “could not just be filled with stories, but must have themes and essays to show the progress of the school in English and literature.” The writer was upset that there were girls who were critical of the efforts of their schoolmates to improve the school, but did nothing themselves in the way of making things better. It appeared that the editors were not receiving better contributions, and bristled at the criticism from peers towards their editorial efforts.⁶⁰

Overall, the 1902-1903 efforts were almost too “modern,” and maybe the critical--even nasty--attitude was not at all appreciated that year. It was a perfect example of what Hunter found at Concord High School’s coeducational 1898 publication of *The Volunteer*, where literary editor Vinnie M. Boutwell compared “The Girl of Yesterday and The Girl of Today” in her April, 1899 prize-winning essay—“the home-centered,

self-denying girl of the past with the selfish, disrespectful girl of the present.” The *Interlude*’s early 1900s issues reflected this tug-of-war dual identity.⁶¹

The paper/journal must have taken to heart the criticism, or again, simply, a school newspaper reflects the group that gathers, writes, and edits the publication, for the 1905 and 1906 “1020” news columns returned to more gracious reporting of events, thanking supporters of the school (especially speakers) recognizing student and alumni successes, and balancing literary contributions with stories such as the interest in “the Panama question,” praising Mr. Worcester Warner’s “interesting and instructive” talk on the subject. There were more field trips mentioned, such as the visit of Miss McMillan’s “two Physics classes to the Cleveland Electric Power House to see the dynamos and machinery.” The school news included the visiting alumnae, as in a Vassar student hosting a tea for the faculty, seniors, and a few friends at Easter vacation. The cover of the same issue depicted a “girl-with-book” sitting on a tufted cushion window seat (maybe similar to the school’s window seat mention several times over the years?) The drawing was signed “Gertrude Walton” who was also the paper’s business manager that year; the junior class thanked her in the “1020” column.⁶²

Volume 16, no. 6, representing the year before the school would close, depicts on the cover a drawing by Florence Kappler of a young woman in a “1020” sweater and long skirt, hair up, smiling, and holding two long rowing oars to confirm the school motto “Non Undis sed remis”—“Not by drifting, but by rowing.” Consistently throughout the years, the April issue was written and edited by Junior class staffers. The editorial was very respectful of seniors, and grateful for their guidance. The exchanges consist of many jokes, and compliments to other school magazines/newspapers. The exchange

column did not quote much news from those papers, seemingly a radical change, and the issue is less academic than in past years.⁶³

The one appearance over the years alluding to the intensity of schoolgirl relationships occurred in “Natural and Acquired Tastes,” a story, possibly fictionalized, where a girl wrote of moving up in economic status to a Euclid Avenue home, with “a big barn of a dining room.” She very much wanted to eat boiled cabbage, but family and help decried the odor that would have resulted, though the family had eaten cabbage for years. Absent the family and the cook for the day, the girl boils a cabbage, and suddenly a girl she had long “admired” shows up at the door. Embarrassed at the friend smelling the cabbage, she was relieved when the visitor asks to share the lunch. There were intimations that both know of the “admiration,” though the visitor blushes at the other girl’s remark. It was an example of how girls expressed the romantic in their strong, female school-bonding experiences, as discussed in Hunter.⁶⁴

The final issues available for examination, Volume 18, 1907-1908 devoted two pages to the efforts of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association to establish an endowment for the large, free kindergarten the group had established in Augusta Mittleberger’s name in 1901. A special committee of 65 very prominent Alumnae women, chaired by Association Chair Ruth Follett Stone, includes 1880 graduate Clara Sherwin. The list follows an appeal to readers to aid in the raising of \$25,000, sufficient they hoped to fund the kindergarten each year thereafter from the interest earned. The plan was to ask for five gifts of \$1,000, 20 gifts of \$500, 50 gifts of \$100, and “lesser sums aggregating \$5,000, for a total of \$25,000.” The appeal read: “This is not too much, is it, to fitly memorialize the school and its principal and all the gracious personalities and influences

which have constituted the past fame of “Ten-Twenty?” The “letter” goes on to announce a great rally of old pupils to gather at the June 8th Commencement—“at that time we ardently desire to offer Miss Mittleberger, as the thing we know to be of all others that which most delight her heart, the assurance that, though her school cease to exist, the impulse imparted there through precept and example is to be perpetuated, in association with her name, under a form of Christian beneficence worthy to be so-called.” A donation envelope was said to be enclosed (within *The Interlude*) and patrons were asked to return it to the Treasurer Mrs. Harrison M. Snider, promptly, so as to hopefully have at least \$10,000 for Miss Mittleberger on Commencement Day. Pages 28-34 of this special edition carried the complete listing of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association members and their addresses. Mittleberger had announced her retirement that March. This would have been the April issue.⁶⁵

The final issue of 1908, issue no. 8 contained all the farewells and coverage of all the closing ceremonies for the school. Dr. Breed addressed the baccalaureate services at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church on Euclid and Case, May 31; the topic—“Self-Culture and Self-Sacrifice.” On June 8 the girls entered First Baptist Church on Prospect and Kennard, singing Mendelsohn’s processional “Rejoice Ye Pure in Heart”; the Reverend Paul E. Sutphen, D. D. gave the invocation. Three hundred guests attended the Euclid Club annual alumnae luncheon to honor Miss Mittleberger. She was given a purse of 1,000 gold coins for the nearly forty years of her efforts in Cleveland education. Past class presidents spoke, including 1908 class president Clara Bunts, and Cornelia Blakemore Warner delivered the school history discussed earlier in Chapter 4. *The Plain*

Dealer printed the earliest known class photograph (1888) and the latest 1908 graduation class, writing a respectful epitaph to the Miss Mittleberger School.⁶⁶

The Interlude filled its remaining pages with the destinations of many a college-bound girl, and listed 17 girls who would transfer to Laurel School, nine who would transfer to Hathaway Brown, four who would go to Central High School, and the names of several girls headed for schools back east. Obviously many others were still undecided as the year, and the lifetime of a school passed into history.⁶⁷

In summary, the years of *The Interlude* school paper/journal (1889-1908) would appear to have profiled a time of great transition for girls changed by schooling, the need for teachers, the broadening of opportunities/economic need for women in the industrial age workforce. Much of the latter was due to advances in technology such as transportation, the sewing machine, and the typewriter; certainly the breakdown of the domestic, or two-sphere culture and the resultant coeducational school experience set up a dual-role identity for girls as schooling and the freedom to explore urban space separate from the family created something of a difficult transition. The identity role of men at the turn of the century equally affected the course of this transition, as did the “science” that said women’s brains were inferior, while women headed for careers in male-dominated fields. We can see that school newspapers were just one of the opportunities where girls could learn to lead and voice their opinions, and that, just like in *The Interlude*, girls would struggle to find a voice that sometimes would falter, harm, celebrate, and cross back-and-forth between the old Victorian girl, and the new Progressive woman.

What we don't see in the pages of this school paper/journal is the sickly, pining Victorian girl reported so often by doctors of the time, as discussed in Blumberg's studies on the "chlorotic girl" who seemingly made herself sick, caught in the aforesaid dual perception of what she was supposed to be, and what she wanted to be.⁶⁸

Though college and workplace opportunities were increasing nationwide in the early 1900s, again this study focuses on very elite and upper middle class girls. The Mittleberger School, grounded in the later years of the academy movement, was no longer a capstone experience in education, but truly a college preparatory program. The pages of *The Interlude* in its early 1900s years attested to the number of girls headed for college, trained and encouraged at their school, and enabled by their wealth and privilege to do so.

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1. See Eleanor Flexnor, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum 1974), 113-130; Jane Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002). Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy*. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 212-219; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America From Colonial Times to the Present*. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975) 143-189; Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) 14-61.
 2. Solomon, 37; Hunter, 12, 170-171; Catherine Beecher, "Catherine Beecher", in Barbara M. Cross, *The Educated Woman in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965, 1974) 51-94.
 3. Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920*. (Madison, Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); Hunter, 174; William F. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
 4. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls* 2-5.
 5. Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840*. (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2005) 99-116
 6. Sue Heinemann, *Timelines of American Women's History*. (New York: The Berkley Publishing Group) 176-179; Margaret Nash, 113-116.
 7. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 31.
 8. Hunter, 172-174.
 9. George E. Condon, *Cleveland: The Best Kept Secret*. (Cleveland, Ohio: J. T. Zubal & P. D. Dole, Publishers, 1981) 96-113. While Cleveland had no paper its first 22 years, it had a long history of journalism beginning July 31, 1818 with the somewhat erratic *Gazette and Commercial Register*, followed in 1819 by the more stable *Cleveland Herald*. *The Plain Dealer* appeared in 1842, derived from the *Independent Newsletter* (1827), later named the *Cleveland Advertiser* (1832). In 1842 Cleveland and Ohio City's combined population was about 7,500; Cleveland fielded a total of six newspapers
 10. Ibid.
 11. Marian J. Morton, *Women in Cleveland: An Illustrated History* (Cleveland, Ohio: Case Western Reserve University, 1995) 159-160; Ella Grant Wilson, *Recollection of Old Euclid Avenue*; see Morton, 159-164 for other Cleveland women writers.

12. *The Interlude* 1, no. 7 (May, 1891):1-5. (Cleveland, Ohio: Mittleberger School) The volumes of *The Interlude*, Western Reserve Historical Society.

13. *Interlude* 2, no. 4 (February, 1892): 1. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

14. Ibid., *Interlude* 1, 4-5.

15. Ibid., 5.

16. *Interlude* 2, inside frontispiece pages.

17. Ibid., 1-4.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid. 6.

20. Ibid., 7-8.

21. Ibid., 8-10.

22. Ibid, 11-12.

23. *Interlude* 5, no. 1(November, 1894), 3-4.

24. Ibid., 14.

25. Ibid., 12.

26. Ibid. 15. See Hunter, 333-336; Solomon, 83-93 and Nash, 115-116.

27. *Interlude* 5, no. 1: 6, 10.

28. Ibid, 10.

29. Ibid, 8-10, 12.

30. Ibid., 15.

31. Ibid., 10, 5.

32. Ibid. 12.

33. *Interlude* 5, no. 2: 9.

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34. Ibid., 11, 3-4, 10.
35. Ibid, 12.
36. Ibid., 15.
37. Ibid., 11, 15.
38. *Interlude* 5, no. 3: 12, 10, 13, 11.
39. Ibid., 12.
40. Ibid., 13, 3-4.
41. Ibid., 11; Diaries of Annette Devereaux Emma Betts Sterling. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
42. *The Interlude* 6 (November, 1895): masthead; "Editorial", 20-24.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., 273.
46. Diary of Emma Betts Sterling, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
47. *Interlude* 6, editorial.
48. *The Interlude*, 6 (November, 1895).
49. Ibid; Hope Ford Murphy, *Educating the Independent Mind: The First Hundred Years of Laurel School*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Laurel School, 1998(Lorraine Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, printing and binding) 1-8.; Ruth Crofut Neeham, *The First Hundred Years: Part I, 1876-1956*, (Shaker Heights, Ohio: Hathaway Brown School, 1977) 16-17.
50. *The Interlude* 7, no. 1 (November, 1896) 11-14; *Interlude* 7, no. 2(December 1896) 9, 16-17.
51. Ibid, no. 1.
52. Ibid., no. 2, 11-13.

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53. *The Interlude* 7, no. 3 (January, 1897) 9- 12.
54. Ibid., 5-7.
55. *The Interlude* 7, no. 8
56. Ibid.
57. *The Interlude*, vol. 12, no. 6 (April, 1902-1903), front cover.
58. Ibid., 10-12.
59. Ibid., 16, 20-21.
60. Ibid.
61. Hunter, 251-252.
62. *The Interlude*, vol. 15, no. 6, (April, 1905), 21-22.
63. Ibid. 19, 20-21.
64. Hunter, 176, 179-188.
65. *The Interlude*, Volume 18, no. 6 (April, 1908). 18-19.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 27.
68. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Chlorotic Girls, 1870-1920: A Historical Perspective on Female Adolescence", *Child Development*, 1982, 53, 1468-1477. See also Blumberg's larger work *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. (New York: Random House, 1997)

CHAPTER VI

GILDED GIRLS: MITTLEBERGER GRADUATES

It would be nearly impossible to follow the futures of all the Mittleberger graduates; however, let us review what we know of a randomly selected group of approximately 20 graduates, chosen because some became famous, married or single, and some like Belle Sherwin, Elizabeth Cutter Morrow, Fanny Hayes, and Molly Garfield who were always mentioned in connection with the Mittleberger School. We will review the life of Theodate Pope Riddle because of her diary and the biography written about her, and how she represented the introspective, anxious student, though successful adult. We will consider those who were successful and generous philanthropists, some who remained in Cleveland elite society, and some who relocated. We will speak of some of the oldest graduates, and some of the last graduates of the school, and who remained single the longest in a society that favored marriage. And, finally, we will revisit some of the students who were staffers on *The Interlude*.

The Mittleberger School was most often referred to as “exclusive,” or at least as

the school where prominent Cleveland families sent their daughters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the young *Interlude* editor wrote in November of 1895, the reputation of the school depended on the image, demeanor, and success of its graduates. But graduate classes in those days were small in number, even in the public schools. Many students attended, but few completed diploma requirements. Though Laura Celestia Spelman was one of Central High School's earliest graduates among the 10 in the 1855 graduating class, her future husband, John D. Rockefeller attended from 1853 to 1855, but did not finish at Central. Oddly, he quit Central two months before graduation, rather electing to complete his studies at Cleveland's Spencerian Business College that summer, where he could concentrate on business courses such as bookkeeping (it was the Folsom Mercantile Business College at the time). Because young men like Rockefeller wanted to enter the workplace as soon as possible, women outnumbered men in completing high school diplomas at coeducational secondary schools in the nineteenth century.¹

Not having found any actual school records for Augusta Mittlebergers students from the 1870s, we do know, however, a few of the names of her very early students according to Blakemore's May, 1908 account. They included: Annie Otis, Annie Winslow, Margaret Root, Helen Judd, and Nettie Sterling. The latter family had been neighbors of the Mittlebergers on Superior Avenue, and mother Emma Betts Sterling mentioned so in several diary entries. Jeannette (Nettie), one of Mittleberger's very first private students, married well, but died abroad in Vienna, Austria within two years of her wedding. She had traveled abroad with her husband, only to come down with typhoid fever and die rather young.²

Fortunately, much has been written about two famous members of the Mittleberger 1886 class, Belle Sherwin and Theodate Pope. Sherwin was born in Cleveland in 1868 to Frances Mary Smith and Henry Alden Sherwin, a founder of the famous Sherwin-Williams Company (paint). Belle was the oldest of the Sherwin daughters, who also attended the Mittleberger School, including Maude, Prudence, Eda, and Clara. Maude would later marry Edward Bushnell; in 1915 they would be neighbors to Augusta Mittleberger, and Edward, as a lawyer, would handle Mittleberger's will and affairs.

Belle Sherwin was not comfortable with her family's wealth or the big pretentious homes on "Millionaires' Row," according to Pope's diary. The two "loathed the luxurious and empty existence of the excessively rich," as was reported in the diary. However, a word of caution—Pope was an effusive, emotional young woman who was several times treated for depression and anxiety. She also expressed a strong schoolgirl crush for both Sherwin and teachers. Pope eventually married.³

Sherwin, on the other hand, never married, but left Mittleberger to attend Wellesley College, graduating in 1890, Phi Beta Kappa, and then spending a year studying history at Oxford University, 1894-1895, after teaching history at St. Margaret's School in Connecticut a few years. She returned to the United States to teach at Boston's St. Margaret's and Miss Hersey's girls schools for four years, and returned to Cleveland in 1899 to begin her involvement with voluntary civic and women's organizations. Over her career, however, she would receive honorary degrees from Western Reserve University (1930), Denison University (1931), and Oberlin College (1937).⁴

Sherwin shortly became the first President of the Consumers League of Ohio and was active in social welfare groups such as the Visiting Nurses Association and the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy and the Council for Social Agencies. She served as the director of the Public Health Nursing Association, member of the Federation for Charity & Philanthropy and Council for Social Agencies. The Cleveland Welfare Federation made her its director (1900-1914) after World War I. Sherwin was then selected to serve as vice-president of the National League of Women Voters from 1921-1924, and served as its president for the next ten years. Locally she also was a founder of the Women's City Club (1916), but her Cleveland work also included chairmanship of the Women's Committee of the Mayor's Advisory Board in 1917 and an appointment to the Ohio Chairman of the Women's Committee of the U. S. Council of National Defense.⁵

Sherwin's work made her famous in the suffragette cause. Ironically, the wealthy were major opponents of women's suffrage, and could afford to publish a great deal of "anti" suffrage literature. What helped gain support for the political participation of women was the fact that they supported U. S. participation in the Great War, and so when Cleveland Mayor Harry L. Davis appointed a Mayor's Advisory War Committee to manage Cleveland efforts to raise funds, conserve food, and "Americanize" the large local immigrant population, Belle Sherwin was appointed to that committee. Women suffragettes, with their long-time political skills, pitched in to sell war bonds and distribute pamphlets on food conservation.⁶

Sherwin's activism included international work such as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship—she led the United States delegation to

the Paris (1929) and the Berlin (1929) congresses. Sherwin spent many years in Washington, serving under Franklin D. Roosevelt, who appointed her to the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration, and to the Federal Advisory Council of the U. S. Employment Service (1934). Active on many fronts, Sherwin also served on the Board of Trustees for Wellesley College, was given an honorary L. L. D., and was a long-time active supporter of the college. By 1942, Sherwin returned to Cleveland to something of a "retirement," until she died in 1955. In the few, small historical references to the Mittleberger School, Belle Sherwin almost always was mentioned as one of the school's illuminati.⁷

Sherwin's classmate, Theodate Pope (1886 graduate) seemed more the stereotypical profile of the Victorian schoolgirl—a child too close to her father, seemingly unwanted and distant from her mother, who coped with her adolescent confusion with frequent headaches, bouts of crying and days spent in bed. Her diary, as reported in the biography *Dearest of Geniuses: A Life of Theodate Pope Riddle* (2003) by Sandra L. Katz, revealed that "Theo" was very unhappy when the Pope family moved onto Euclid Avenue the year she would leave the Mittleberger School. She did not like the large Queen Anne on "Millionaires' Row," and wrote that she did not think a home should be a showplace that proclaimed one's wealth. Her writing was proof, too, of the pollution of the then very industrial city. The snow in Cleveland was "black" with snow from the urban mills.⁸

Pope's father made his fortune when the demand for malleable iron (good for fastening rails to ties) and railroad couplers rose with the expansion of railroads after the Civil War. As president of National Malleable & Steel Castings, Alfred Pope and wife

Eda would move through several homes until joining “high society” on Euclid. His daughter for years would be reluctant about adulthood, afraid of sex, confused by her schoolgirl friendships, and reluctant to enter marriage, though she had suitors.

Mittleberger faculty apparently agreed that Pope was argumentative with teachers in class, and had trouble in math. Her parents thought an additional year at Mittleberger would be better, as her father felt she wasn’t ready to leave home. Her mother did take her to see Wellesley College, but Theo most liked Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, Connecticut, since entry to Wellesley would take summer preparation in math. In the fall of 1886, the Popes sent her to Miss Porter’s School, where she was happy for a short time. Encouraged by her father to study architecture because of her interest in art and design, Pope struggled with bouts of depression all her life. Her dreams were of a country life, and thus she chose to settle in Farmington, a picturesque New England town. She would never take formal education in architecture, but would, with her family resources, designed three schools, oversaw the reconstruction and additions to the Theodore Roosevelt House in New York, and designed three country houses and servants cottages; later she helped her father design a beautiful county estate for her parents in Farmington. After her father’s death in 1913, Pope managed the Farmington estate, and in 1918 began the design and building of Avon Old Farms, a school for boys, where she felt she could provide for the training of society’s leaders. Her favorite teacher from Miss Porter’s School had been Mary Hilliard, five years her senior. She would make Hilliard the head mistress of the school.⁹

She had become the guardian of a little, blond two-year-old boy, Gordon Brockley, in 1914, another daring venture for a single woman. Pope had quite quixotic spirit, and she was active in spiritualism and psychic organizations. Wanting to form an American psychical organization, she set sail to study the English organization—on the *Lusitania*, May, 1915. When a German submarine fired a torpedo, May 7, into the *Lusitania*, which, unbeknownst to passengers, was loaded with munitions, Pope, her business associate, and her maid jumped into the water wearing lifebelts. Pope was caught between the listing decks, knocked unconscious by a blow to the head, and floated to the surface. Again she went underwater in the frenzy of flailing passengers, and blacked out again. She was pulled out with boat hooks and placed on deck with the dead. She was revived, but 1,198 passengers, including her friend and her maid, all died. Comforted by such famous friends as Henry James and Mary Cassatt, Pope gained prominence as the heir who survived the shipwreck—Alfred Vanderbilt did not. Pope married diplomat John Wallace Riddle in May of 1916, and took in another boy, eleven-year-old Paul. Two-year-old Gordon became ill at age four and died. Husband John passed of a heart attack in 1941 at age 77; Theo Pope died quietly August, 1946, at age 79. She certainly was one of the more chimeric Mittleberger girls, and the story of her life is a great example of a Victorian girl long in conflict with pre-1900 society family expectations, adolescent confusion, and brow-raising ventures into role conflict. Her successes, however, outweighed the angst she suffered. One remembrance of her efforts was given tribute in the novel *Mr. Chips*—the background on the cover of the first edition was a photograph of Pope's Avon Old Farms School.¹⁰

One of the initial questions for consideration in this study was whether Mittleberger girls surpassed the role of their mothers, very few of whom had attended college. Did the daughters move successfully into male-dominated fields and higher education—any realm beyond the philanthropic and/or Protestant benevolent roles attached to the eminence of the mothers' husbands? The answer is a qualified yes. One of the surpassing women was Elizabeth Reeve Cutter. Though very successful after her 1892 graduation from Mittleberger School, she had a strong-willed, educated mother, Annie E. Spencer Cutter, who had early on obtained secondary education and teacher certification. Elizabeth's mother was born in 1845, had attended Miss Day's School, attended Central High School, and became a teacher at Rockwell Street School. She later became Cleveland's youngest school principal. Her father (Timothy Spencer) had been one of Cleveland's first postmasters. Mrs. Cutter managed motherhood, career, and missionary work of the Old Stone Church and Calvary Presbyterian Church and the early affairs of the Young Women's Christian Association. Annie E. Spencer had married Charles Long Cutter in 1871, an attorney and businessman at the time. In 1928, at age 83, Mrs. Cutter took her first airplane ride—her pilot was none other than her granddaughter's husband, Charles Lindbergh. Mrs. Cutter lived to 93, when she died of pneumonia in her Cleveland Heights home at 2160 South Overlook Road.¹¹

Cutter's daughter, then, grew up with her sisters Annie and Rose, and all three went into careers—the two sisters never married, Annie becoming a well-known Cleveland librarian in charge of CPL's school library division, and Rose lived with Annie. Elizabeth (1892, Mittleberger School) earned a B. L. degree from Smith College in 1896, followed by a year's study at the Sorbonne in Paris, France (1896-1897) and

Florence, Italy. Cutter taught English, History, and French in private schools the next six years, returning to teach at Mittleberger School for part of those years.¹²

She married Dwight Whitney Morrow in 1903, an 1896 graduate of Amherst, from Huntington, West Virginia. Though she would lead a whirlwind life as Morrow's wife while he was Ambassador to Mexico (1927-1930) and Republican Senator (1930-1931), she was a well-known poet, and author of several children's books. She served as president of the Smith College Alumnae Association (1917-1920), and for served 16 years she was a Trustee of Smith College. Elizabeth also received a phenomenal six honorary degrees: Amherst College (1933), New Jersey College for Women (1935), Smith College (1937), New York University (1940), Lafayette College (1940), and Princeton (1940). Mrs. Morrow's greatest contribution to Smith, however, was to serve as acting president, 1939-1940.¹³

Amazingly, in all of this activity, Elizabeth and her husband raised four children: Elizabeth Reeve, Anne Spencer, Dwight Whitney, and Constance Cutter—all three daughters attended Smith College. Yet, in a life filled with distinction, service, wealth, and healthy, successful children, Elizabeth Cutter Morrow would lose her husband in October, 1931—he was only 58 years old. Elizabeth wanted to retire quietly, even refusing the offer to complete her husband's senatorial term. However, the following year, 1932 would bring heartbreak, and her name back to the press. Her daughter, Anne Spencer Morrow, had married famous aviator Charles Lindbergh in a quiet, 1929 ceremony at the Morrow home in Englewood, New Jersey. Their son was later brutally kidnapped and murdered. Elizabeth was drawn in to the sensational press

coverage that surrounded the tragedy. Young Anne would also become a famous writer, pouring much of her grief into her work.¹⁴

To her credit, Elizabeth would continue her work—better relations with Mexico, service abroad for Smith College, work on national defense and international projects during World War II. She also worked on behalf of numerous charitable organizations such as the Young Women’s Christian Association (she was a director). She was grandmother to 12 children, and would live to see Anne and Charles have other children. She would help her own daughter Elizabeth with the Little School, founded by Elizabeth, which stood on the Morrow’s famous Englewood, New Jersey estate. Elizabeth, in fact the entire Cutter family, with its roots in Cleveland and Mittleberger School, had all become dedicated public servants and literary personages.¹⁵

We have reviewed the accomplishments of three nationally and internationally known Mittleberger graduates: an unmarried educator and social activist (Sherwin, ‘86), a late-in-life married architect (Pope Riddle, ‘86); and a nationally prominent wife and mother (Cutter Morrow, ’92). Let us look at the one of the elite families who sent several children to the Mittleberger School, and whose accomplishments were of a more local nature—the three daughters of publisher and Hollenden House owner Liberty Holden.

The editorial “Where Are the Mothers?” reviewed in Chapter 5 by *Interlude* writer Roberta Holden, gave us some idea of the confident personage of this young woman. Born in 1876 in Salt Lake City, Utah, she was the daughter of Liberty Emery Holden and Delia Elizabeth Bulkley Holden, and was 15 years old when the family returned to Cleveland. She graduated in 1894 from Mittleberger School. Her years between 1894 and 1907 are a bit of a mystery. She did not marry for 13 years after her

graduation. However, two of her brothers died before her father passed away in 1913 at age 80. It is likely that, as the oldest daughter, she may have helped manage family business and home; the Hollenden House was only nine years old at the time of her graduation, and her father never sold the *Plain Dealer*, but put it in trust for the Holden heirs until the family sold it in 1967. The May, 1907 *Interlude* (p. 33) ran an item in “Alumnae Notes” that Roberta Holden vacationed that February and March in the Bahamas. She married the following September 2, 1907 to Benjamin P. Bole, with whom she had one son, Benjamin, Jr. They were members of the Unitarian Church.¹⁶

Roberta Holden Bole, however, was most known as a “philanthropist,” finding a permanent home for the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1905 (two years before she married), and serving as one its trustees and a member of its advisory council. She and her family donated famous art works to the museum in the 1930s. Holden Bole also was a benefactor of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History. She donated the original 100 acres used for the location of the Holden Arboretum in Kirtland, Ohio. Along with fundraising efforts to save the historic Dunham Tavern, the Boles created the Frederick Harris Goff educational scholarship program to establish classes for gifted children in the Cleveland public schools (1937). Holden Bole’s most notable educational project was that of co-founding Hawken School in 1915, though the Hawken School entry in the same source does not mention her at all. She may have represented money behind the school. Holden was also a member of the special committee formed to plan and raise funds for the Mittleberger Endowment Fund of \$25,000 mentioned earlier, “which shall be administered to charitable ends, in perpetuity, by a legally constituted board of trustees.”¹⁷

Sister Delia Holden married Windsor T. White, son of Thomas White, founder of White Sewing Machine. Windsor and his brother Rollin first worked with their father's company, but branched off with White Motor Company making trucks, vehicles for the military, and several other machine products. The company had a long history until its bankruptcy and dissolution in 1985. Delia, too, was known for contributions to the arts in Cleveland and led a conspicuous social life at her home in Brentenol. Her husband had numerous club associations, and was president of the Chagrin Valley Hunt Club. Her grandson, Thomas V. H. Vail, would assume leadership as publisher and editor of the *Plain Dealer* in 1963 at age 36.¹⁸

The third Holden daughter, Emerie, who had worked on the Mittleberger School *Interlude*, married Henry Vose Greenough. Their son, Peter Greenough, worked at the *Plain Dealer* from 1946 to 1960 as a reporter, copy editor, business editor and associate editor (he had gone to Columbia School of Journalism in 1940, after graduating from Harvard in 1939.) He married opera singer Beverly Sills in 1956, and they had four daughters and a son, all of whom were still living at his death in 2006. His wife, the famous Metropolitan star, died in 2008. Mittleberger graduate Ethel Greenough, who wrote several years for *The Interlude*, was editor in 1896-1897, and graduated in June of 1897, was a Cleveland cousin to Emery Holden. She married Mr. Massey Holmes and lived in Boston, Massachusetts as of 1907.¹⁹

It is an interesting pattern that many of Mittleberger's graduates remained single, and yet quite successful. It may have been family money that allowed them to do that. Besides Belle Sherwin, Marie Remington Wing, who worked as a business manager and an exchange editor on *The Interlude* in 1902, was the daughter of Federal Judge Francis

Joseph Wing and Mary Brackett Remington, who had helped found Cleveland Law School. She graduated in 1903 and attended Bryn Mawr, returning to Cleveland when her father suffered financial reverses. She worked at the YWCA as both industrial and financial secretary, served as its general secretary in New York, and sat on the board of trustees. Wing enrolled in Cleveland Law School in 1922 (her father had died in 1918), leaving the YWCA.²⁰

The following year she ran for Cleveland City Council, winning terms in 1923 and 1925. Her main focus was to establish a women's bureau in the police department. She was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1926. She served as the executive secretary of the Consumers League of Ohio, working on the protection of women and children in industry, and minimum wage legislation. By 1934, Wing was appointed to the Women's Advisory Committee of the Cleveland Regional Labor Board. She served as the first regional attorney for the Cleveland Social Security office, 1937-1953, and later opened a private law practice. She retired in 1956, and lived in Mentor, Ohio, until her death December 27, 1982. She had never married. Her 1908 address was 3834 Prospect, which she shared with her sister, Virginia Wing, who had graduated from Mittleberger School in 1899. Wing was listed as editor of the alumnae issue in the 1907 *Interlude* issue.²¹

One of the longest living Mittleberger graduates remained single all of her life. Edith Dickman, class of 1888, lived to be 90 years old. The list of alumnae printed in the *Interlude's* 1907 shows she lived at 1823 Prospect Avenue. The 1900 *Cleveland Blue Book* listed her living with her parents at 449 Prospect. The 1907 listing is probably the same house after the 1906 change of Cleveland addresses. This seems so since the 1020

address of the school became 4002 Prospect (it still is). If we quadrupled the 449 address, the 1823 address might have been the same house. Her father, Franklin J. Dickman, was at one time chief justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Edith Dickman died in Virginia, January 11, 1954, but was buried from DeVand Funeral Home at 11130 Euclid Avenue.²²

Another interesting graduate who remained single was Jeannette Pelton Kinney. She represented the best of what “physical culture” brought to the Mittleberger curriculum. Her father founded and headed the Kinney & Levan china and art store in Cleveland. Jeannette graduated from Mittleberger School and Briar Cliff Manor School in New York State. She was among the first women to own and drive an automobile in Cleveland, and was an avid golfer. In fact, she was a women’s golf champion here, and ardent sportswoman. Her Cleveland area home was Field Day Farm, near Kirtland, Ohio. She died of a heart attack at 62 years old, April 30, 1954 in Laguna Beach, where she had resided just three years.²³

What about the women who were the backbone of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association, who looked after the Mittleberger Memorial Kindergarten, supported the school, and raised the endowment for the kindergarten?

Another young woman who graduated with Roberta Holden in 1894 was Mathilde Avery. She seemed drawn also to the warmth of California, as were many others in their declining years (not surprising, given resources) was Mathilde Avery. She married Harrison M. Snider, whose father was Martin Snider of Standard Oil in Cleveland. It was Mrs. Snider who, as Treasurer of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association and member of the special committee to raise the \$25,000 for the endowment of the Mittleberger

Memorial Kindergarten, collected the funds. Mathilde died in 1955, about 79 years old in Pasadena, California.²⁴

Ruth Follett Stone, class of 1894 with Holden and Snider, was president of the Alumnae Association in 1907-1908, and lived in Euclid Heights with her sister Kate Follett Stone (class of 1902), both of them single. Ruth had been single 14 years since her graduation from Mittleberger School, and Kate five years. Kate Stone also served on the committee that raised the endowment funds for the kindergarten. Ruth died October 22, 1943.²⁵

While it might be difficult to name which particular Mittleberger graduate actually had or acquired the most wealth of all these elite girls, there are some so famous that their long, detailed obituaries revealed the size of their estates and their generosity at their deaths. Certainly one such woman was Edith Hale, born in Cleveland, one of eight children of Edwin Butler Hale, head of E. B. Hale & Company in Cleveland—one of the largest private banking houses in Ohio. Edith Hale also attended the Sylvanus Reed School in New York. One June 22, 1897, Hale married William Lamon Harkness, son of Daniel M. Harkness, a large Standard Oil stockholder. Daniel Harkness and his brother, Edward S. Harkness, were sons of Stephen V. Harkness, an original founder of Standard Oil with partner John D. Rockefeller.

William Harkness bought the Euclid Avenue home of James Madison Hoyt (Augusta Mittleberger's uncle). In 1909 the family moved to New York. Harkness and his wife gave \$400,000 to Yale University, where he had graduated in 1881. He died in 1919, and left an estate of \$68,751,761. Edith received half of the estate, the city home, and her country estate at Glen Cove (Long Island), the yacht and all private effects, and

the two children divided the remainder. Edith turned the 215-foot yacht over to the Navy to be used in both World Wars, until it was sunk in 1942 enemy action. In 1923 Edith helped finance Time, Inc., and she and her two children increased the gift to Yale University to \$900,000 in 1926. Edith continued philanthropic offerings to the Connecticut State Tuberculosis Commission, the New York Music Week Association, New York League for the Hard of Hearing, the American Red Cross, the National War Fund, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and the Cleveland Medical Center. She had a number of club memberships in New York and the Kirtland Country Club membership east of Cleveland. She died in 1947 at her home in New York City, at the age of 83, after a long illness. Her son, William Hale Harkness was a corporation director and civic welfare leader, and her daughter was Mrs. David S. Ingalls of Cleveland. The New York Times described Edith Hale Harkness as “generous donor to charitable and educational causes.”²⁶

One of Mittleberger’s graduates was an out-of-town student , Rachel McMasters Miller from Pittsburgh, who graduated in 1901 and had attended Pittsburgh’s Thurston School. Miller, born in 1882 in Turtle Creek, Pennsylvania, loved books and botanicals. She became an accomplished bookbinder—34 of her books were exhibited at the New York School of Applied Design for Women in 1911. She had studied with Euphemia Bakewell, a student of the English master binder, T. J. Cobden-Sanderson. She produced some 90 bindings. She had been inspired by a visit to the Roycrafters in her late teens, and produced her own poetry book to learn the process. She also began collecting books at a young age, particularly those on flowers. She was quite successful at authoring books and papers, and she lectured widely on horticulture and literature.

Rachel married Roy A. Hunt June 11, 1913. Roy had obtained a Yale education—he was only eighteen when his father died in 1899. After graduation, Roy worked his way up to Assistant Superintendent in his father’s company—what would be renamed the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa). Rachel Hunt would then give up her bookbinding career to raise four sons. However, she continued a lifetime devoted to botanical interests—in 1956 she was named Honorary Vice President of the American Horticultural Society. Carnegie Institute of Technology awarded her an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1960. She and her husband created the Hunt Botanical Library at Carnegie, an institute that still serves botanists worldwide, now known as the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Hunt served Alcoa through all upper level positions, including membership on the Board of Directors until his death in 1966. Rachel’s large collection of rare books resides in the Rare Book and Special Collections department of the Carnegie Mellon University Libraries. The Roy A. Hunt Foundation today offers 500 grants, maintains the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation at Carnegie Mellon, and has established programs in Community Development, Environment, and Youth Violence Prevention, as the four sons continued the interests of their parents.²⁷

Two Rockefellers attended Mittleberger School, though not the children of John D. Rockefeller, whose children were tutored at his Euclid Avenue and Forest Hill homes. Nellie Rockefeller appeared quiet and unassuming at the school, though the *Interlude* reported her coming and going to Frank Rockefeller’s large ranch in Kansas where he was invested in cattle ranching. Helen E. Rockefeller, nicknamed “Effie” lived in

Willowick, Ohio. She married Walter S. Bowler, and in 1907 was listed as living at the St. Regis. Her life was well-documented, as were all the Rockefellers.

Finally let us look to the two very famous daughters of President Hayes and President Garfield. Frances (Fanny) Hayes, daughter of President Rutherford B. Hayes attended Mittleberger School 1882-1885, and then left to attend Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut. In both schools she was a classmate of Theodate Pope and Molly Garfield—she also joined Nellie Arthur, daughter of President Chester Arthur, at the Farmington school. Fanny, born in 1867 near Cincinnati was the sixth child and only daughter of R. B. Hayes and wife Lucy Webb Hayes. Her mother was the first president's wife with a college education. She had attended Ohio Wesleyan Female College in Cincinnati at her mother's urging, graduating in 1850. While the curriculum emphasized Christian learning, as did Webb's college writing themes, Mrs. Hayes' biographer Emily Apt Geer said Webb may have been influenced by Margaret Fuller's 1845 book *Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Webb wrote about Fuller: "Instead of being the slave of a man, she is considered his equal in all things, and his superior in some."²⁸

From this strong line of women, and a father who would serve three terms as Ohio Governor throughout her childhood in Columbus, would come the young Fanny who would be ten years old when her father became the nineteenth President of the United States in a disputed election settled by the Congress. Thus when Fanny attended Mittleberger School in the fall of 1882, her father had already served his presidential term, and as agreed, retired after one term to the family's "Spiegel Grove" home in Fremont, Ohio. Also behind her was the tragic assassination of newly elected President

James Garfield, who died of a secondary infection four months after he was shot in Washington in June, 1881.²⁹

At Mittleberger, Fanny was a good student, but in a January, 1883 letter to her father, she expressed stress at having to take so many examinations. Her father wrote to Miss Mittleberger, and Fanny wrote of her relief that she would not have to take all of the exams. Of particular interest were letters between she and classmate Theodate Pope, now held at the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center in Fremont. The letters to Pope reveal Fannie's thoughts on marriage, her fiancé, child rearing, and her work among women prisoners. Fanny had one of the better examples in good marriages—it was said her parents had a long, loving marriage of 40 years. Fanny's lifelong anxiety rather, had to do with her hearing impairment.³⁰

Though Fanny thought to avoid marriage for fear of passing her hearing impairment to a child, she married her childhood friend and schoolmate, U. S. Naval Ensign Harry Eaton Smith, September 1, 1897, and had one child, Dalton Hayes Smith. Fanny's mother died in 1899, and she was her father's constant companion after that. Her husband's military career kept the couple apart a great deal, with their home base in Washington D. C., and Annapolis, Maryland, as some years Smith lectured at Annapolis. Fanny worked on her father's interests, and specifically worked with inmates at the Reformatory for Women in South Framingham, Massachusetts. In 1919, after 22 years of marriage, Fannie divorced.³¹

She lived near New York City until 1935, and traveled, before settling near Lewiston, Maine until her death March 19, 1950. Her son Dalton died two months prior

to her death. Fanny was buried at the family plot at Oakwood Cemetery in Fremont, Ohio.

Molly Garfield, born in 1867, was the second daughter of James Garfield (1831-1881) and Lucretia Rudolph (1831-1918). Molly's education had begun early with private tutors in Latin and Music at the age of seven. She began writing letters to her father when he was serving in Congress, as those letters from age seven and older are available in the James Garfield Papers, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. One such letter (and most of her father's letters) prevailed on Molly to keep at her lessons, encouraging her that she could then write to him in Latin, and actually wrote to her a small paragraph in Latin. The letters, like those of Fanny Hayes and her father, revealed the difficulty of families divided geographically for long periods of time by the father's political service and the difficulty of travel. Molly was a young teenager when her father became President following President Hayes. The oldest of Garfield's surviving children, she was asked by her father to help with the other children at their Mentor, Ohio home (Lawnfield). Letters place her at the Mittleberger School after 1879; we know James Garfield ran his campaign from his Mentor home throughout 1880, and after his successful election in November, Molly was at Miss Burr's School in Washington. A Hayes letter has her as Fanny Hayes' classmate at Mittleberger in 1883. However, several of Molly's letters are written from Mentor. In horse-and-carriage days it would not have been likely that she commuted from Mentor, and thus would have boarded at Mittleberger School, or stayed with family in Cleveland.³²

Molly, like Fanny Hayes, eventually transferred to Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut. In earlier days, all four successive presidential daughters

Nellie Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Nell Arthur all attended school together at Miss Burr's School for Girls at one time. All but Grant were reunited at Miss Porter's during the mid 1886-1897 years. Daughters Hayes and Garfield sat together at Garfield's inauguration as Hayes left office and Garfield entered. Molly, fourteen, attended Miss Burr's School during her father's short time in office, and would spend much of 1881 visiting her dying father in his makeshift sick room at the White House. The July 2 assassination bullet did not kill Garfield. Much has been written about the doctors' inability to remove the bullet, and the amount of "poking around" and the resultant infections which had caused much suffering by the time the President died in September 19 of that year.³³

President Garfield's personal secretary, and the man who had to literally run the White House as the president lay incapacitated, was the man Molly Garfield later fell in love with—Joseph Stanley-Brown. However, Molly did not marry Brown until 1888, in a double-wedding ceremony with her brother Harry, who married Belle Mason of Cleveland at the Lawnfield, Mentor home. Molly's husband was pivotal in the development of the U. S. Geological Survey and the Geological Society of America (GSA). His papers, too, are kept in the Library of Congress. Brown helped organize the James Garfield papers, completed a degree at Yale University, and traveled with Molly to study in Germany. For 50 years Brown was editor of the GSA bulletin, and devoted to the field. The couple lived in New York and Pasadena, California. Brown died in 1941, and Molly died in 1947.³⁴

Fame has its advantages, of course. Anytime the Mittleberger School is mentioned, it is the presidential daughters, Belle Sherwin, and Edith Cutter Morrow who are always mentioned, though we have seen that several girls were extremely supportive

alumnae for many years, and quite successful themselves. Mittleberger's young cousin, Ethel Adams Mittleberger, Class of 1897, returned to her home near Chicago, attended the Chicago Normal School, and joined the faculty of the Detroit Female Seminary in Michigan. She married a wealthy businessman, Daniel Smith, who ran unsuccessfully for Mayor of Detroit in 1929.³⁵

There were only a few class photographs taken at the Mittleberger School. Of those, faces are identifiable as follows:

Mittleberger class photographs (the first one was taken of the 1888 class) numbered nine to 20 girls, though at times as many as 89 students were in the combined junior/senior academic department. In that first 1888 photo appeared Mrs. Mary Chisholm Painter, Mrs. Windsor T. White (Delia Holden), Miss Mary Goodwillier of Baltimore, Mrs. Mrs. Mary Root Abbott, Mrs. John B. Lunger (Jane E. Burnett) of New York, Miss Edith Dickman, Miss Kate Mason, Mrs. Carrie Chance Gregg of Denver, Miss Helen Mitchell, Mrs. Mina Prime Baldwin of Honolulu, Mrs. Annie Woods Vanderzee of Rotterdam, Holland, Mrs. Mabel Bull Hill of East Liverpool, and Miss Helen Whitehall.³⁶

Pictured in the class of 1891 photo were Mrs. Mina Boardman Mosley, Miss Gertrude Bronson, Mrs. George W. Grandin (Mabel Burnham), Mrs. Karl Kellog (Anita Lyon), Mrs. Herbert Pope (Maude Perry), Mrs. Warren Bicknell (Annie Guthrie), Miss Edith Fuller, Mrs. John F. Harris (Gertrude Upham), and Mrs. John Sherwin (Frances McIntosh).³⁷

There are some photos such as the Class of 1894 where the names are given on commencement announcements, but not with the photos. Posing made it difficult in

some cases to identify students. Stylistically the photographers allowed the graduates to pose themselves in anything but straight rows or even seating. The girls were a bit “slouchy” leaning in and out of any type of “row.” However, the photos tell us there were no Mittleberger “uniforms,” except for sports wear. Most often, however, the girls posed in various white blouses and darker skirts, or white dresses in commencement photos. Many graduates may also be tracked through philanthropy documents and simply “googling” whoever became famous. For example, Roberta Holden Bole’s photo appeared online as “my grandmother,” when the granddaughter, who breeds Welsh Corgis, spoke of her grandmother’s similar passion on the granddaughter’s website.³⁸

We have profiled a random selection of Mittleberger graduates and discovered that few became the “idle rich.” But most affiliated themselves with a “cause” or passion of some sort. The causes were not limited to caring for the poor, though it was a given that the culture of Protestant benevolence fostered by their parents was a girls’ duty, one carried into adulthood with or without a husband. However, participation in political and social reforms often took the place of the fundraising fetes and charity balls of the early Cleveland days of their mothers and grandmothers. Suffragism, labor issues, women’s rights, prison reform, wartime projects, political service—many of these graduates took that road. On the other hand, many, whether active on those levels or not, left large amounts of money to found or support museums, hospitals, medical centers, and arts programs. Several founded or contributed to schools.

One pattern revealed was the number of graduates who remained single, or put off marriage several years or more. The 1907 alumnae list was revealing, as it lists alumnae by married and single names, the earliest graduates being Clara Sherwin (listed single)

and Emma Fuller (listed married as Mrs. E. W. Bodine), both of the 1880 class. While the list does not reveal motive or explanation, it is obvious that many of the graduates delayed marriage for several years. Also, unless we were to discover the marriage dates of all these girls, it would be difficult to say how long the married alumnae had waited to marry between their graduation date and their marriage, if married prior to 1907. It should also be noted that conclusions are based throughout this paper on using the alumni list and the few available rosters, grade books, and program memorabilia which fall after 1895.³⁹

Of the approximate 323 names on the list, 163 were single, roughly 50 percent of the alumnae. Of course, some of the alumnae listed had recently graduated, and, logically, might not have married immediately out of school around the age of 18. Looking at the single alumnae listed in 1907 who had graduated five years or more before (during or prior to 1902), 88 of the 163 women listed as single in 1907 had been single at least five years since. Checking the list for women who were listed as single 10 years since their Mittleberger graduation (during or prior to 1897), there were 43 women. The alumnae list, of course, can only be used as a sampling, as Mittleberger's students from 1877-1908 would have numbered from approximately 40-50 beginning in 1877 per Warner, to a maximum 225 per year over many years, meaning several thousand students in the 31 years of the school's history. Mittleberger's tutoring and private classes after her 1863 graduation at Cleveland Female Seminary through 1876 would account for many more of her "students." We also can only estimate the number of adults she invited from the community to attend lectures at her school in the evening, as reported by Warner.

It can be said, conclusively, that findings indicate an agreement with Solomon, that higher education did, indeed, cause a shift in marriage patterns. Even early on, academy graduates at Mt. Holyoke (1837-1850), married later, or not at all. As reported earlier, the average age of graduates was six years older than that of the general population, and 19 percent of graduates never married. Hunter found that girls with high school educations married later, and, more importantly for this study, she found that of female college students in the late nineteenth-century, half or more stayed unmarried.⁴⁰

Another point in reviewing the alumnae list is that of the 323 listed, 146 were listed under “Out of Town Alumnae,” indicating over 40 percent lived elsewhere. This indicates a high social and geographical mobility for Mittleberger graduates, and, presumably, for a group of women loyal to their alma mater. The mobility of course can be explained by marriages where brides relocated to the location of their husbands’ business interests, students settled in the locale of their college towns, students returned to families that had originated in New England and New York, and some took advantage of the wealth and resources that allowed them to relocate to warmer climates. Most of the out-of-towners were married. While not wanting to jump to conclusions, it seemed a number of graduates, especially those graduating between 1900 and 1907, had already noted that the elite Cleveland community had begun to scatter, even though the largest mansion was built on Euclid Avenue near 24th Street by industrialist Samuel Mather as late as 1907. It seems odd to have begun such a house, but Flora Stone Mather, for whom the women’s college was named after at Western Reserve, was suffering from breast cancer over a three-year period, and never lived in the house her husband built for her. She and Mittleberger served together on the Western Reserve Advisory Council, and

she, too, had attended Guilford's Cleveland Academy. In fact, she donated funds for a dormitory named Guilford Cottage, in honor of Guilford's Academy. Cleveland State University (CSU) now owns the Mather mansion as part of the CSU campus. It seems that the out-of-town list favored New York and New England locations.⁴¹

It was apparent that those girls who suffered depression, anxiety, or traumatic experiences were able to survive such, and still function normally, succeeding at their chosen tasks. It seemed that many of them, Theodate Pope included, rallied and filled their lives. Molly Garfield may need further research, for she seems to have led a more quiet life, maybe too shattered by her father's death to ever seek the public eye much again. However, overall, the group of women highlighted here seemed to have been a healthy group--several led long lives. Several had lost family members—Augusta Mittleberger's two young brothers, Belle Sherwin's two sisters, early Mittleberger neighbor Sherlock Andrews had lost five of his eleven children, Fanny Hayes had lost four of her eight siblings, and the list goes on through many of these late nineteenth, early twentieth-century families. The point is, health improved for this generation of women, and undoubtedly Augusta Mittleberger's program of physical culture taught the girls the value and means to good health, for wealth did not at all save Victorian/Progressive people from illness or loss.

At age 63, Augusta Mittleberger announced her retirement to a school assembly in March of 1908, and the Alumnae Association rushed to honor her and endow the Mittleberger Memorial Kindergarten on Woodland Avenue at the upcoming June commencement services. Three hundred, many of whom were graduates attended the luncheon to close this woman's 45 years in education.

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2. *The Interlude*, vol. XVII, no. 7, May, 1907; “When We Were Young”, address by Mrs. Worcester R. Warner. 3-10; Emma Betts Sterling diaries, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

3. Sandra L. Katz, *Dearest of Geniuses: A Life of Theodore Pope Riddle*. (Windsor, Connecticut: Tide-Mark Press, Ltd., 2003), 6-18.

4. Ibid., 411; “Women in History: Belle Sherwin” (<http://www.lkwdpl.org/wihohio/sher-bel.htm>). Retrieved 3/30/2009.

5. Ibid.; See also David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, *The Dictionary of Cleveland Biography*, 411.

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9. Ibid.

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 19. Peter Greenough obit; *The Interlude*, May, 1908 Alumnae list, 18-19.
 20. Ibid., 490.
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39. *The Interlude*, May, 1908, 18-19, 28-34.
40. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 30-31; Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*, 384-387.
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CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

Once Augusta Mittleberger announced her retirement in March of 1908, rumors began to circulate. Genteel as the educational community was, business was business. Mittleberger denied rumors that the Mittleberger School would merge with Laurel School, then owned and operated by Sarah Lymon who had taught mathematics at Hathaway Brown School and became Principal at the Laurel Institute on Euclid Avenue in 1904. Lymon moved and expanded Laurel to 10001 Euclid Avenue in 1908.¹ Also, a group of well-to-do citizens saw an opportunity to begin a girls' version of University School eastward and, again, Mittleberger's name came up as a part of that project, possibly as director. Again Mittleberger put the rumors to rest; that project would never come to fruition.²

The school had served as an elite day and boarding school for 31 years, long enough to educate entire families of siblings. But enrollment was rapidly declining. Many families had moved eastward to escape the pollution from the mills and factories, and the loss of "park-like" exclusivity; and there was the competition from Laurel and

Hathaway Brown Schools, adjacent to each other farther east on Euclid Avenue, and in competition with each other as well.

Augusta Mittleberger *was* the Mittleberger School. An independent entrepreneur, she had no other partners or trustees. The elite, downtown enclave from which she had drawn her clientele was rapidly scattering to the east for cleaner air and because the rise in public and personal automotive transportation made the business commute reasonable. Since she simply did not own the Mittleberger School buildings, there would be no “sale” of the school, and residents would have to choose from other schools. Laurel accepted a number of Mittleberger girls, and allowed for them to graduate within one year of attending Laurel. In fact, the May, 1908 *Interlude* listed 17 girls who planned to attend Laurel Institute the following fall, four who would attend Central High School, nine who would transfer to Hathaway Brown, seven undecided who would go “back east” to school. Class of 1908 President Clara Bunts would go to “Miss Church’s School.” Hazel Kirk, whose family’s address was given as “The Croxden” in her last years of school would now attend Miss Bennet’s School. Of course *The Interlude* also listed those who would be going on to college: Marion Davis would attend Wellesley; Madeline Bourne would leave for Vassar, and Gabrielle Weber and Estelle Becherle would go to “Women’s College” (of Western Reserve in Cleveland.) Thus, Miss Mittleberger’s students found their way to continued education, dispersing both locally and across the country.³

Sarah Lymon of Laurel would also allow the Mittleberger Alumnae Association special status and support until the late 1950’s, supporting its annual luncheons, scholarships, and fundraisers. The organization’s records remain at Laurel School. In

addition, Lymon hired some of the Mittleberger faculty, including Mary Potter who would go on to head the Laurel History Department for 15 years. Marjorie Waldby came as a senior from the Mittleberger School in 1908, graduated with the Class of 1909 at Laurel, and stayed on to help in the Laurel Business Office. She would become the School Treasurer and stay until 1929.

The school held its “baccalaureate” services June 13 at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church on the southeast corner of Euclid and Case Avenues, walking distance from the school, as was the custom. On June 14, 1908, members of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association met at 10 a.m. at the First Baptist Church on Prospect, a block down from the school, and lined up within the church. They formed an aisle through which passed Augusta Mittleberger, accompanied by association president, Ruth Stone, followed by the Class of 1908, 24 of whom were pictured in the class photograph which ran in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* the next day. The president of the University of Chicago, Dr. Shailer Mathews, delivered the commencement address, followed by school songs delivered by the pupils, and the presentation of diplomas by Miss Mittleberger to her last graduating class.

Following the benediction and the recessional, a reunion luncheon sponsored by the Alumnae Association was held at the Euclid Club, nearly 300 attending. Stone gave the introductory address and reported the progress on the endowment fundraising--\$4,000 cash in hand, and \$9,000 in pledges thus far for the Memorial Kindergarten. Letters of greeting were then read from President Thwing from the College for Women, Dr. Hiram Haydn (Western Reserve), President Seeley of Smith College, Dean Pendleton of Wellesley, and President Taylor of Vassar. Letters were also read from absent alumnae

members, including nationally famous writer Beatrice Hanscom, Mary Goodwillie (listed as “society woman of Baltimore,” Caroline Whittlesey of Maine, who had taught art 20 years at Mittleberger School, and Theodate Pope of Farmington, Connecticut.⁴

Then, beginning with Clara Bunts, President of the Class of 1908, several class representatives presented reminiscences--Clara Sherwin of the Class of 1880; a letter from Mrs. Charles Cockle of Peoria, Illinois, 1881; Miss Anna M. Brainard, 1882; Mrs. B. F. Bourne, 1884; Miss Belle Sherwin, 1886; Mrs. Louis Dunham, 1887; Mrs. Windsor White (Delia Holden), 1888; Miss Lydia Pennington, 1889; Miss Millicent Olmsted, 1890; Mrs. George Grandin, 1891; Mrs. Fred Borton, 1892; Mrs. John Stockwell, 1893; Mrs. Harry Snider, 1894; Mrs. William Bonnel, 1895; Miss Rachel Studley, 1896; Mrs. Gardner Dodge, 1897; Mrs. Fred Hitchings, 1898; Miss Virginia Wing, 1899; Miss Jean Burry, 1900; Miss Rachel Miller, 1901; Mrs. J. E. Graham, 1902; Mrs. Walter Robinson, 1903; Miss Elizabeth Kaiser, 1904; Miss Catherine Tallman, 1905; Miss Frances Fanning, 1906; and Miss Gertrude Schaefer, 1907.⁵

The very popular former associate principal, Miss Helen Nesmith, who had left the Mittleberger School because of her marriage to Henry Fowler of Providence, Rhode Island, returned for the closing ceremonies and spoke of the days at “Old Ten-Twenty.” Miss Catherine Tracy, who, along with a dozen present at the luncheon, attended 14 consecutive years at the Mittleberger School, gave the toast “From Kindergarten to Commencement.” Finally, former associate principal Cornelia Blakemore Warner rose and delivered the passionate school history referred to several times within this dissertation, and to the applause of all, presented a golden purse with \$1,000 gold dollars as a gift to Augusta Mittleberger. It was suggested she use the gift for travel.

Mittleberger gave a short, grateful speech in the quiet, modest way she had always conducted herself. It was by her actions and accomplishments we have had to judge her, as hers was the hardest voice to find in this story—and perhaps that is why her story was told so little in Cleveland history.

We have provided a sociocultural profile of the nation and Cleveland, 1875-1915, followed the Mittleberger family's ascent through Cleveland's business sector into the industrial age, witnessed the trappings of class, the tragedies typical of Victorian times, and the education of Augusta Mittleberger. We noted that the Mittleberger family was an excellent example of the nineteenth-century family practicing the dominant Protestant ethics of hard work, Christian practice, benevolence and reform. Mr. Mittleberger's service to the early Cleveland Board of Trade, and Mrs. Mittleberger's service to the Martha Dorcas Society, the Episcopal Church and the Cleveland temperance movement set strong examples for their daughter, not to mention their efforts to see that young "Gussie" was well-educated. There would be no story here were it not for that superlative effort by the elder Mittlebergers. We tracked the path of young Mittleberger's teaching career, and documented her entrepreneurial efforts in the creation and operation of the Mittleberger School.

We then analyzed the contents of the volumes of the *Interlude* school paper/journal, produced 1889 to 1908 by interested student staffers, although no formal journalism class was offered. In that review we found, not the stereotypical Victorian girl, but students who seemed to have celebrated the physical to explore the world beyond family and the last vestiges of a culture restrained within the so-called domestic sphere. Many girls chose to delay or forego marriage for careers or other interests. We

found, too, that the girls focused on reports of their school life, and that, for the most part, *The Interlude* did not become a forum for causes or personal interest, and was, in fact, rather apolitical, having chosen instead a celebratory reporting of events and change, without much commentary or analysis, though there were some analytical offerings such as Roberta Holden's essay on the idealization of orphaned heroines.

Finally, we focused on several of the Mittleberger graduates, both the low-key and the highly profiled, to see what they accomplished, and how they differed much in their future trajectories from their mothers. Many graduates scattered from Cleveland, largely for reasons of business—their husbands' and/or their *own*. And there lies one of the key results of the Mittleberger influence—she helped to give her students *voices of their own*. These girls came from the upper middle to elite classes. They had money and status, but there was a recognizable shift in their futures, in that each of their voices was not always tied to that of their husbands or fathers—for some, their voice remained their own. For many, the mobility of their lives granted a quick separation from any family restrictions that might have existed. Moreover the newer technological and transportation advances allowed new freedoms in terms of time away from home, and a general opening of opportunities to women. For example, Belle Sherwin had a career in Washington, Marie Wing had a political career in Cleveland, Rachel Miller became a bookbinder, and Theodate Pope became a famous architect. These graduates and others were products of Mittleberger's forward-looking curriculum. They were also beneficiaries of the beginning of decline in the ideology of domesticity.

We sought in this study to ascertain the contributions of Augusta Mittleberger to the educational community. It was through Cornelia Blakemore Warner's speech at the

closing ceremonies that we learned of Mittleberger's effort to keep up with the latest in educational theories—that she traveled extensively to Chicago, Illinois, Chatauqua, New York, Germany, and other places to seek out the innovative and up-to-date methods of education. We saw the care she took in the creation of her kindergarten, whereby she recognized the importance of the pre-school years, as she actively promoted enrollment at age four, rather than five. Though she drilled her students through recitation as she had learned from Cleveland Academy teacher and mentor Linda Thayer Guilford, we saw how her methods changed in ways that made room for individualized instruction, and hands-on, object methods. She readily understood learning in stages, and what we today call a developmental approach to teaching.

Her grade books (the 1895-1900 extant volumes) indicated she enforced a system of remedial learning in cases that required it because of individual students' lack of ability, attention, or attendance. By virtue of her speakers, her procurement of scientific apparatus, and her field trips mentioned in the *Interlude*, we saw her efforts to bring more science into her classrooms. Though offering a classical curriculum with the study of Latin, Greek, German, and French, we saw her introduce manual training into her course offerings before the turn-of-the-century. And it should be noted that nowhere in this entire school history, nor in the *Interlude*, was there mention of anything *punitive*. Students were expected to improve their grades—and there were a number of grades indicating “fair” and “poor” in the available grade books. Mittleberger and her staff did not appear in any way to be fearful of offending or arousing anger in anxious parents. While the student journalists were apparently allowed to make a few misdemeanors in tact in the pages of their newspaper/journal, there were no criticisms or mean-spirited

remarks about administrative or faculty decisions. No demerit or corporal punishments were mentioned in any of the Mittleberger School records, and nothing but praise came from alumnae writers over the years.

Certainly her promotion of health and an elaborate physical culture within her program—the walking, sports activities, lunch program deserved praise for what seemed a resultant healthy student body. The “family” style boarding school and day school made for a student body that appeared emotionally happy in the pages of the *Interlude* and the Cleveland and Laurel School newspaper recollections written years later. Boarders had Saturday night parlor entertainments and interaction with staff, and extra-curricular efforts to acquaint students with the arts—attending events at the Euclid Avenue Opera House, the music concerts, the museum trips, and, of course, numerous plays, concerts, and entertainments at the school itself. Even during that last year of the school’s existence, the “House-girls” saw the operas *Aida*, *Il Trovatore*, *Carmen*, and *Martha*. Each class had its colors, its own motto, its own teams and events. Classes were taught to honor each other with teas, dances, socials, all of which taught the etiquette of the day, and respect for each other.⁶

Another Mittleberger contribution was the promotion of “alternative” education within the community. Quite often Mittleberger invited community members to lectures and events at the school, establishing a strong tie with her clientele. While it was good business, of course, this practice allowed family members to share the schooling experience. One of our research questions was to seek whether Mittleberger influenced the future education and possible careers of her students beyond the paths of their non-college mothers. It seems apparent from the number of young women we investigated

that Mittleberger's efforts to meet with and arrange a program of certificates for her graduates to present at the major women's private colleges proved fruitful to many of those girls whose names appeared as attending those colleges in each successive volume of the *Interlude* over its nearly 10-year history. The Wellesley certificate program had, for example, been put in place in 1881. Very few of the Mittleberger girls' mothers had attended college, though they were certainly proficient in the duties within their homes and the wider domestic sphere of volunteer moral and social reforms. We have indicated the likelihood that many of these elite mothers, though non-college, may have been educated in the academies and seminaries, even public high school—many of which predated 1850. Mittleberger provided the means by which to help break down the domestic sphere ideology and gave graduates more numerous options for the future. Though women had been empowering themselves gradually throughout the 1800s, Mittleberger's efforts empowered her Cleveland and boarding students to attend colleges for those who chose to continue their educations.⁷ The Mittleberger School at its closing was a college preparatory school, and no longer a capstone experience at the twelfth grade.

We looked to answer the question of whether the Mittleberger journalism girls and their writing content revealed aspects of social class, and whether they were aware of their privileged status. Certainly the reporting of travels and other adventures were considered important enough for the authors to convey them to schoolmates and the community. Reporters tied coverage of such journeys to school assignments. They printed student essays and articles, and promoted the educational value of such opportunities. Events were simply reported as “so-and-so summered in Germany, or the

“Misses... vacationed with family in New Orleans.” There was never a disparaging remark about anyone not having the means to do so, nor any allusion to the expense or notoriety of the trip—in other words, there seemed not to be any hint of boasting. Overall, these girls of wealthy families conducted themselves with a sense of refinement in enjoyment of their opportunities, and reported on their efforts to look after the less fortunate, seemingly very aware of their “duty” to society, though not describing it as such.

In this study we looked for evidence of the unhealthy Victorian girl widely reported by doctors in the Victorian age, in particular a form of anemia known as chlorosis prevalent among adolescent girls in 1870-1920. Cornell University’s Joan Jacobs Brumberg’s 1981 study *Chlorotic Girls, 1870-1920: A Historical Perspective on Female Adolescence* said that “in large part, chlorosis was a cultural construction embedded in the context of Victorian medicine and family life.” The diagnosis always seemed to coincide with sexual maturation, and so Brumberg found that the “disease” was more or less learned from family, friends, the popular press, and the girls’ doctors. In 1800s literary culture, poetry, prose, and music eulogized in a romantic, celebratory way the suffering and or death of a young, beautiful woman, or iconicized the paralytic girl whose good heart made the world a better place, maybe even deserving of an improbable miraculous cure. It is not such a leap to see how chlorosis fit in so well with the Victorian profile of protecting the adolescent within a restrictive family environment, where well-intentioned mothers did not discuss sexual matters, and frequently did not prepare daughters for the onset of menses. Consequently the whole business, as aforementioned, was a hygienic crisis more than a natural maturation process. As

Brumberg said, the unhealthy, depressed, even the truly anemic girl with the green-tinged pallor (thus “chlorosis”) was the result of “a complex interplay of adolescent physiology, medicine and family life. Brumberg stipulates that such a culture could have actually caused girls to make themselves sick almost as an affirmation of becoming what their environmental influences expected of them. The pattern is not dissimilar to today’s culture of “thinness” and overt sexuality of adolescent girls, set within a potent blend of food consumption marketing, “super mom” skills, and nice-girl values, the results of which are eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and obesity, and the nationally recognized increase in depressed adolescents, particularly girls.⁸

The *Interlude* mentioned long-term periods of illness infrequently, more as a polite courtesy or remembrance, and seldom with details or the identity of the illness. The Mittleberger grade books indicated extended absences, but more for travel abroad than for illness. The school’s extant physical records do not at all fit the profile of the unhealthy and/or chlorotic Victorian girl. In fact, there was much reporting and celebration of the physical culture of the school, from bicycling and front yard games (i.e. tetherball), to interclass team rivalries (i.e. basketball, tennis), to the beginnings of interscholastic sports. Photographic evidence pictures healthy, fresh faces. The fashion and demeanor of the day called for serious facial expressions appropriate to a dutiful, responsible girl—no smiles, no titillating poses or seductive looks, and demure, patient hands clasped in the lap. The Mittleberger girls (and for the most part existing photos are of the older girls) did not reflect the supine, repressed adolescent girl. As discussed, the *Interlude* cover drawings at the turn of the century were of happy, athletic girls, more in accord with Hunter’s portrayal than with Brumberg’s.⁹

As part of the Victorian schoolgirl profile, we looked to find information as to the use of diaries or journals, and found only one instance—excerpts of Theodate Pope's student diary were readily available online, and Katz's 2003 biography of Pope Riddle relied heavily on that original diary and papers at the Hill-Stead Museum in Connecticut (Pope Riddle's former family estate). And, while she was our example of the angst-ridden adolescent of the times, she also recovered quite well in adulthood. Pope Riddle had a prominent circle of friends including Belle Sherwin, she and husband John were houseguests of the Vanderbuilts in Newport, and entertained the literati at Hill-Stead. Given her move away from family and the fishbowl existence of Euclid Avenue, Pope Riddle did quite well, more-or-less proving Brumberg's point that cultural environment and nutrition so improved after the early 1900s' that chloritis and other adolescent maladies greatly declined, and eventually the headaches and dyspepsia of their mothers declined also with higher iron diets, and more activity. In fact, Pope Riddle's mother had often taken to her bed with depression, especially at the death of Theodate's father. Brumberg argued that mothers and daughters culturally reinforced their illnesses, practicing a rather unhealthy form of bonding. As girls became more active, less restrictive in their dress (corsets), stepped away from family into the halls of schools and the city streets, iron deficiency anemia certainly did not disappear, but the high incidence of chloritis and the languishing adolescent did.¹⁰

The self-prescriptive, self-improvement culture also turned girls from the inner worlds of diaries to the public worlds of school achievements. Nowhere in *The Interlude* was the keeping of diaries even mentioned. The "lights out" at 9:45 p.m. rule precluded boarding students from late hours writing self-introspectively, and logically schooling

meant day and boarding students alike would have spent more time on school assignments than personal diaries. Certainly it would be difficult to prove that no personal diaries were kept—few appear to have been made public. Emma Betts Sterling and Antoinette Deveureax, both Euclid Avenue ladies of wealth, wrote diaries, but except for mention of grief and loneliness because of husband’s business or travels, the diaries are rather sanitized—whoever donated them to the Western Reserve Historical Society was not risking family secrets or embarrassments, but thankfully gave us first hand glimpses of life on the Avenue. The latter concerns probably kept most families from revealing private ramblings of adolescent girls.

If we were to apply one, broad thought to this story, it would be the discovery of the “transition” for young girls and women from the domestic ideology—its restrained, secretive, self-introspective, duty-ridden, overly-protective, well-intentioned, but often misguided efforts by authority figures. Instead, girls moved toward a “new” turn-of-the-century identity characterized by secondary schooling, technological innovation, and the economic necessities that drew women into the workplace. The transition was a long gradual one that began with academies, made the most of educational alternatives such as lectures and women’s clubs, and grew stronger with girls’ entry into public and private secondary schools. It was an evolving process, not a quick transformation. Education and science freed the late nineteenth-century girl. In the caring sociocultural milieu that was the Mittleberger School, women grew strong, freed from the gilded cage, and aware that many women would struggle to join them in their independence. Our findings, however, do not apply to the working class girl who was often unable to attend school.

When her mother died in December 14, 1882, Augusta Mittleberger began to plan for how her family might all rest together. Lakeview Cemetery had become the final resting place for most Euclid Avenue's elite families. Reviewing Cleveland Necrology files from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a phenomenal number of elite family burial services were handled by Brown-Forward Funeral Directors on Euclid Avenue. Deceased were "buried from" their Euclid Avenue residence, and taken to Wade Memorial Chapel at Lakeview Cemetery, which was and is bordered by Euclid Avenue and Mayfield Roads.¹¹

Just within the Euclid Avenue entrance of Lakeview stands the Wade Chapel with its large Tiffany window. Outside its door lie the Rockefellers, Hoyts, Hannas, Mathers, Cases, Wades, Sherwins, and of course, President Garfield. Near the chapel, schoolmistress Augusta Mittleberger purchased a large plot, #28 in Section 5. Records show that her mother, brother Alexander, younger brother William, her uncle Charles and aunt Julie Mittleberger were all "removed" to Lakeview, presumably from Woodlawn Cemetery where her father had been buried. His grave is also there, though the move is not noted in the computer files. Nor is it clear if Brown-Forward held Mrs. Mittleberger's body, or she too had been buried originally at Woodlawn. Regardless, the whole family was interred there on June 22, 1883, a little over six months after the mother's death. A large boulder on which is carved "Mittleberger" centers the plot, and at left are two flowering trees. All the graves were placed in a semi-circle on the right, facing the boulder and trees. Augusta left room between her youngest brother William and her Aunt Julia for herself.¹²

Though she was ailing, Augusta Mittleberger would travel after the closing of her school, and engage in a number of educational efforts for the next seven years—particularly the Educational Advisory Council of Western Reserve, the Mittleberger Memorial Kindergarten, participation in First Baptist and St. Paul’s Episcopal Churches; and she would become an honorary member of the College Club of Cleveland. However, within six months of her school’s closing, Mittleberger had her will drawn up, November 24, 1908, witnessed by C. F. Miser, and Edward Bushnell, Bushnell was both Mittleberger’s attorney, friend, and later, her neighbor. Bushnell had married Maude Sherwin, sister of Belle Sherwin. Mittleberger remained listed in the *Cleveland Blue Book*, first at 1946, 101st and later near the Bushnell’s on 81st Street. At both addresses she appeared to have settled near families she knew, some of them whose mothers or daughters had been students at Mittleberger School.¹³

Though Mittleberger’s “illness” over the years was not identified, it did not seem to be the cause of her death. On August 3, 1915, Mittleberger died of a cerebral hemorrhage at age 70, according to her death certificate. The local papers marked her passing in a small story “Women Bury School Head” for her August 5th funeral, indicating that members of the Mittleberger Alumnae Association made the arrangements: Mrs. Edward Bushnell, Mrs. Fred Borton, Mrs. Frank Abbot, Miss Ruth Stone, Mrs. John Rust, Miss Edith Dickman, and Mrs. Henry Pope.¹⁴

As stipulated in her will, Executor and family friend Frank R. Herrick was to first honor her request: “It is my will that all my just debts be first paid.” Her estate was small—she had willed amounts of one and two thousand dollars to family members and friends, and had hoped to leave \$10,000 to the Memorial Kindergarten, if it still existed;

otherwise she wanted Ruth Stone, Ursula A. Herrick, and Belle Sherwin to decide where the gift could best be used. The distribution document delivered to the court in 1917 indicated that after division to meet the individual bequests, and inheritance taxes paid out first, the Kindergarten was given \$6,529.43. Years later, a similar amount was transferred to the College Club of Cleveland to be used for the Mittleberger Scholarship, still granted to two Cleveland senior students each year, in the amounts of \$500 each. As was the custom of the time, personal items such as locket, necklaces, embroidered items were also left to kin, family friends, and Cornelia Blakemore Warner. She gave her bookcase and library to the Women's College of Western Reserve University (Warner later donated \$10,000 in Mittleberger's name to buy books to add to that collection), and to Laurel School's Sarah Lymon she gave her laboratory outfit and "the discharge and cancellation of all indebtedness which may owe me at my decease," though the nature of any possible debt was not clear, and the will had been made seven years before Mittleberger's death. Mittleberger's relatives were listed as 1st cousin William Mittleberger of St. Catherine's. Ontario, Canada, her first cousins James H., Colgate, and Elton Hoyt, and first cousins once removed, Ethel Mittleberger Smith, Daniel Hoyt, Maude Hoyt, and Mrs. Allen Horner (Fay Farmer Horner).¹⁵

Today, one can still see several of the late 1800s homes that flanked Prospect Avenue near East 40th Street. The Sarah Benedict house has been renovated, as has The Croxden on the north side, and the Kies/Murphey house is beautifully renovated for offices adjacent to where the school stood on the south side of Prospect. The school building itself was never sold. It was renovated and served as the Mittleberger Hotel for

several years. J. B. Conley was the proprietor there with his wife. In 1930 the building was demolished, and later a series of diners—"George's Diner," "Ruthie and Moe's Diner" were well-known eateries. "Ruthie and Moe's" sold only a few years ago, and now "Somers Restaurant," in the same diner building, sits on the lot. St. Paul's is still on the southeast corner of 40th (Case) and Euclid, though it became a Catholic convent. The First Baptist Church where the Mittleberger commencements were held moved east to Fairmount Boulevard. Of the more than 200 mansions that stood on Euclid, from which hundreds of children attended the Mittleberger School, only the Anson Stager/Thomas Beckwith home still stands (formerly the University Club, then Myers University, recently purchased by "Chancellor University") and the Samuel Mather mansion now owned by Cleveland State. The Frederick Howe residence nearby is also owned by Cleveland State. It is remarkable that so grand an architectural vista could not have been saved for purposes of education and public service—these irreplaceable buildings were swallowed up in the urban, industrial development that meant the end of the girls urban private school in Cleveland. It all was--glittering or not--the past.

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1. Hope Ford Murphy, *Educating the Independent Mind: The First Hundred Years of Laurel School* (Shaker Heights, Ohio: Laurel School, 1998), 25-26 28-29.
 2. *The Interlude*, May, 2008 Warner address, closing ceremonies.
 3. *The Interlude*, Vol. 18, May, 1908, no. 8: 27.
 4. *Plain Dealer*, June 19, 2008, "Historic School Has Celebration", Col. 3-6.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Wilma Slaight, Wellesley College Archivist provided samples of the certificates used by Mittleberger School and others. The student's school must have first been accepted as eligible for "the right of certification for his school."
 8. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Chlorotic Girls, 1870-1920: A Historical Perspective on Female Adolescence." *Child Development*, 1982, 53, 1468-1477.

-----*The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1997) 14-16.
 9. Mittleberger School Records, Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS), Cleveland, Ohio; *The Interlude* volumes, Manuscript Collection, WRHS, Cleveland, Ohio; Laurel School Records, Cleveland, Ohio.
 10. Sandra L. Katz. *Dearest of Geniuses: A Life of Theodore Pope Riddle*. (Windsor, Connecticut: Tide-Mark, 2003). 57, 66, 101; Brumberg, 1475-1476.
 11. Memorials, monuments, mausoleums, and markers became larger and more impressive, and thus the demand for stonecutters, masons and stone craftsmen drew Italian craftsmen to Cleveland's neighborhood hills near the cemetery along Mayfield Road—thus was created the "Little Italy" neighborhood.
 12. Lakeview Cemetery Records, Mittleberger Family, Plot #28, Section 5, Cleveland, Ohio
 13. *Cleveland Blue Book*, 1910 and 1915. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
 14. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, August 6, 1915., Col. 4.

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15. Augusta Mittleberger, Will and Probate Records, Cuyahoga County Archives, Cleveland, Ohio.

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Cleveland Female Seminary Records

Edgar Decker Photograph Collection

Ella Grant Wilson Collection

Emma Betts Sterling Diaries, 1872-92.

The Hoyt Family History

The Interlude Volumes (18) Manuscript Collection

John Devereaux Family Papers

Linda Thayer Guilford Papers

Map Collection (1855, 1874, 1892.)

Marie Wing Papers

Miss Mittleberger School Records, Manuscript Collection (catalogues and gradebooks.)

Mittleberger School Records

Kelvin Smith Library, Case Western Reserve University:

Warner and Swasey, Picture Group, 1900-1978. Manuscript Collection

Worcester Warner Family Papers

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The Bystander

Cleveland Town Topics

Cleveland Herald

Cleveland Leader

Cleveland Plain Dealer

Cleveland Press

New York Times

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